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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

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IN

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LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

Edited by

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,

MAJOR, INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

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THE OCEANOGRAPHIC
LITERATURE

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	आ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಠ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ड	ಢ	ḍa
ऊ	ಊ	û	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	rî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ॠ	ॠ	rî	त	ತ	ta
ऌ	—	lri	थ	ಥ	tha
—	ಎ	e	द	ದ	da
ए	ಏ	ê	ध	ಧ	dha
ऐ	ಐ	ai	न	ನ	na
—	ಒ	o	प	ಪ	pa
ओ	ಓ	ô	फ	ಫ	pha
औ	ಔ	au	ब	ಬ	ba
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	भ	ಭ	bha
Jihvāmūlīya, or old	—	ḥ	म	ಮ	ma
Visarga before क्			य	ಯ	ya
and ख्	—	ḥ	र	ರ	ra
Upadhmānīya, or			—	ಱ	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	ल	ಲ	la
fore प् and फ्			ळ	ಳ	ḷa
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m̐	व	ವ	va
Anundāsikā	—	m̐	श	ಶ	śa
क	ಕ	ka	ष	ಷ	ṣa
ख	ಖ	kha	स	ಸ	sa
ग	ಗ	ga	ह	ಹ	ha
घ	ಘ	gha			
ङ	ಙ	ṅa			
च	ಚ	cha			
छ	ಛ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line: intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Devanāgarī sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanāgarī marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.



SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

AS far as I can ascertain, the majority of the coins which form the subject of this paper, are now published for the first time. Others (Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 24, 27, 30) were included, because the previously published readings of their legends were more or less capable of improvement. Most of the coins form part of those which were selected from the collection of the late Mr. T. M. Scott, of Madura, for the Government Central Museum, Madras, by me and Mr. C. Rajagopala Chari. The abbreviations are the same as *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 301, with the following additions:—

Atkins = *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, by James Atkins; London, 1889.

Thurston = *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Museum*, by Edgar Thurston; Madras, 1890.

Tracy = *Pandyan Coins*, by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M. A.; *Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session 1887-88*.

Tufnell = *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India*, by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M. S. C.; Madras, 1889.

Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore, has again obliged me by preparing the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plates were copied.

I. VIJAYANAGARA COINS.

No. 1. Harihara. M.

Obv. A bull, facing the right; in front of it, a sword. On a specimen belonging to Mr. Tracy, a four-pointed star is visible over the back of the bull.

Rev.	{ प्रतापह राहर	Pratâpa-Ha- râhara. ¹
------	-------------------	-------------------------------------

The legend is surmounted by symbols of the moon and the sun. This coin is a variety of the coin No. 3, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 302.

No. 2. Mallikârijunarâya. MH.

Obv. An elephant, facing the left; above it, the Kanarese syllable Nî.

Rev.	{ ಮಲಿ ಕಾಜುನಾರಾಯರು	Mali- kâjunarâ- yaru. ²
------	----------------------	--

No. 3. Ditto. M.

Same type as No. 2, but the elephant on the obverse faces the right.

This and the preceding coin closely resemble Sir W. Elliot's No. 92, on which see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 304. Mallikârijuna was a son and successor of Dêvarâya II., whose latest date is Śaka-Saṃvat 1371 expired, the cyclic year *Śukla*.³ An inscription of Mallikârijunadêva, the son of Dêvarâya, on the left of the entrance into the first *prâkâra* of the **Arulâla-Perumâl** temple at Little Kâñchî is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1387 expired, the cyclic year *Pârthiva*. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother Virûpâkshadêva, whose inscription on the South

¹ Read *Harihara*.² Read *Mallikârijunarâyaru*.³ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 81.

wall of the *Abhishêka-maṇḍapa* in the same temple is dated in 'Saka-Saṃvat 1392 expired, the cyclic year *Vikṛiti*.⁴ The two Tamil dates are as follows : —

A. Inscription of Mallikārjuna.

Śrī-Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāyar kumārār Mallikā[r]jjunadēva-mahā[rā]yar pṛidivī-rājya[m]=ppaṇṇi arulāniṇṇa Sakābdam 1387ṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa P[ārd]dhiva-saivatsarattu Vṛiṣchika-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu pūrṇṇaiyum [N]āyarṇu-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Kāttigai. n[ā]l.

“While **Mallikārjunadēva-mahārāya**, the son of the glorious **Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāya**, was pleased to rule the earth, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) *Kṛittikā*, which corresponded to Sunday, the full-moon *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Vṛiṣchika* in the *Pārthiva* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1387.'”

B. Inscription of Virūpāksha.

Śrī-Dēvarāya-mahārāyar ku[mā]rar śrī-Virupākshadēva-mahārāya⁵ p[ri]divi-rājyam paṇṇi arulāniṇṇa Sakābdam 1392ṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa Vikṛiti-saivarsarattu Magara-nāyarṇu a[pa]ra-pakshattu amāvāsyai[yum] Āditya-vāramum perṇa Tiruv[ōṇat]tu nāḷ A[r]tta-udaiya-puṇya-kālattilē.

“While the glorious **Virūpākshadēva-mahārāya**, the son of the glorious **Dēvarāya-mahārāya**, was pleased to rule the earth,—at the auspicious time of *Ardhōdaya* on the day of (*the nakshatra*) *Sravaṇa*, which corresponded to Sunday, the new-moon *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Makara* in the *Vikṛiti* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1392.’”

No. 4. **Sadāsivarāya. MH.**

Obv. God and goddess, seated,

Rev. {	श्रीसदा	[Śrī-Sadā]-
	शिवरा	śivarā-
	यरु	yarū.

This copper coin corresponds to the pagoda figured by Sir W. Elliot, No. 100 ; see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 32.

No. 5. *Ditto. M.*

Obv. A kneeling figure of *Garuḍa*, which faces the left.

Rev. Same as No. 4.

The obverse of this coin is an imitation of the copper issues of *Kṛishṇarāya*, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 28.

No. 6. **Tirumalarāya. H.**

Obv. A boar, facing the right ; above it, a sword and the sun.

Rev. {	ಶ್ರೀತಿ	[Śrī-Ti]-
	ರಮಲ	ramala-
	ರಾಯ	rāya.

This coin is figured by Sir W. Elliot in the *Madras Journal*, New Series, Vol. IV. Plate i. No. 11. The execution of the Kanarese legend is so barbarous, that the reading would remain doubtful, unless a similar *Nāgarī* legend did occur on the coins figured *ibid.* Nos. 12 to 17, which have nearly the same obverse as the coin under notice. A correct transcript of the legend on the reverse of these coins was given *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 307.

⁴ See also Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 245.

⁵ Read *Virūpāksha*.

II. CHOLA COIN.

No. 7. M.

(Elliot, No. 152).

The obverse and reverse are identical. In the centre is a seated tiger,—the emblem of the Chôla king,—facing the right, with two fishes,—symbols of the Pândya king,—in front, and a bow,—the emblem of the Chêra king,—behind. The whole group is flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two *chauris*. Underneath is the legend:—

Obv. and Rev.	{	गंगैकोण्ड चोलः	Gaṅgaikoṇḍa- Chôla[h].
---------------	---	-------------------	---------------------------

This coin is republished, because Mr. Thomas has misread it (Elliot, p. 132, note 1). The name or surname Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla, "the Chôla (king) who conquered the Gaṅgâ," survives to the present day in Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôlapuram, the name of a ruined city in the Uḍaiyârpâlaiyam tâlukâ of the Trichinopoly district. The earliest reference to this city is in a Tanjâvûr inscription of the 19th year of the reign of Parakêsarivarman, *alias* Râjendra-Chôladêva.⁶ As this king claims to have conquered the Gaṅgâ,⁷ it is not unreasonable to suppose that he bore the surname Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla (I.), and that both the foundation of the city and the issue of the coin are due to him. A proof for the correctness of this supposition may perhaps be derived from the unpublished inscriptions on the walls of the ruined Brihadîsvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôlapuram. This temple is called Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôlêsvara in four Pândya inscriptions, while a mutilated inscription of Kulôttuṅga-Chôladêva I. refers to a temple named Râjendra-Sôla-Îsvara. If, — what is very probable, — this temple has to be taken as identical with the first, it would follow that the founder of the Îsvara (Siva) temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôlapuram bore the two names Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla and Râjendra-Chôla. Further, the surname Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla is applied to the maternal grandfather of Kulôttuṅga I. in the *Kalîngattu-Paraṇi* (x. 5). Though the same poem (x. 3) gives the real name of Kulôttuṅga's grandfather as Râjarâja, there is no doubt that, as Dr. Fleet (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 279 f.) points out, this is a mistake or an inaccurate expression for Râjendra-Chôla, who, as we know from the Chellûr grant, was the father of Ammaṅgadêvî, the mother of Kulôttuṅga I. A coin which resembles the one under notice, but bears the Nâgarî legend *Srî-Râjendrah* (Elliot, No. 153),⁸ may be attributed to Parakêsarivarman, *alias* Râjendradêva. An unpublished inscription of this king at Maṇimaṅgalam in the Chingleput district mentions a Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla (II.) who was the uncle of, and received the title Irumaḍi-Chôla from, the reigning king. Subsequent to the time of Râjendra-Chôla, the next mention of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôlapuram is in an unpublished inscription of Râjakêsarivarman, *alias* Vîra-Râjendradêva, at Karuvûr in the Coimbatore district. This inscription also refers to a son of the king, whose name was Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla (III.), and on whom the title Chôla-Pândya⁹ and the sovereignty over the Pândya country were conferred by his father. According to the *Kalîngattu-Paraṇi*,¹⁰ Gaṅgâpurî, *i.e.* Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôlapuram, continued to be the royal residence in the time of Kulôttuṅga-Chôladêva I. (A.D. 1063 to 1112). In Bilhaṇa's *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* (iv. 21, and vi. 21) the city is mentioned, under the name Gaṅga-kunḍapura, which the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. is said to have taken twice.

III. MADURA COINS.

No. 8. MH.

Obv. Two fishes.

Rev.	{	Śrî-Avani-
(Tamiḷ.)	{	paśêgarah=
	{	gôḷaga.

⁶ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 105.⁷ *ibid.* p. 109, and Vol. I. p. 99.⁸ A third coin of similar type (No. 154) has *Uttama-Chôlah* in Nâgarî, and a fourth (No. 151) *Uttama-Chôlan* in Grantha characters.⁹ Not Sundara-Pândya-Chôla, as stated in Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 45, note 1.¹⁰ *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 339.

“The round coin (P) of the glorious **Avanipaśēkhara** (*i. e.* the ornament of princes).”

No. 9. MH.

(Elliot, No. 139).

Obv. A standing figure, facing the right.

Rev. { Sôṇâ-
(Tamiḷ.) { du ko-
 { ṇḍāṇ.

“He who conquered the **Chôla** country.”¹¹ The correct reading and explanation of this legend is due to my First Assistant, Mr. Venkayya.

No. 10. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 9.

Rev. Two fishes; between them, the Tamiḷ legend:—

El-
lâ-
nta-
laiy-
âṇâṇ.

No. 11. MH.

(Elliot, Nos. 137 and 160).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 and 10.

Rev. Two fishes, surrounded by the Tamiḷ legend *Ellântalaiyâ*.

No. 12. MH.

(Elliot, No. 136).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11, with the addition of the Tamiḷ syllable *Su* on the right side.

Rev. A fish between two lamps, surrounded by the same legend as on No. 11.

No. 13. MH.

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11.

Rev. { El-
(Tamiḷ.) { lān-
 { talai-
 { yâ.

The legends of Nos. 11 to 13 appear to be abbreviations of the longer legend of No. 10, which on some specimens is further shortened into *Ellântalai*. Mr. Tracy, p. 2 f. pointed out that Sir W. Elliot's reading *Samarakôlâhala* is impossible, and suggested *Ellânagaraiyâḷaṇ* instead. But the syllable which he reads *rui*, is clearly *lai* on all the coins. The preceding syllable might be *ka*, *ga* or *ta*, *da*; the sense requires the second alternative. The last syllable is distinctly *ṇâṇ* on No. 10. *Ellân-talaiy-âṇâṇ* means “he who is the chief of the world” and appears to be the Tamiḷ original of the Sanskrit epithets *visvôttarakshmâbhrîṭ*, *sarvôttarakshmâbhrîṭ*, and *sarvôttîrṇamakîbhrîṭ*, “the king who is the chief of the world,” which occur in verses 7, 8 and 15 of an unpublished inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya on the East wall of the second *prākāra* of the **Raṅganātha** temple at Srīraṅgam. I would accordingly attribute the issue of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 to **Sundara-Pāṇḍya**, who ascended the throne in Saka-Saṃvat

¹¹ Sôṇâḍu is a contraction of Sôlanâḍu, as Malâḍu of Malainâḍu; see below, p. 344, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 167, note 5, and p. 229, note 2.

SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

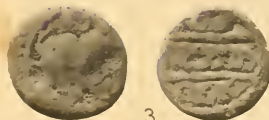
Plate i.



1



2



3



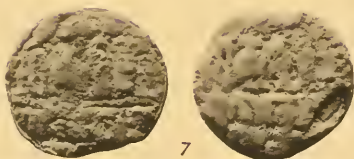
4



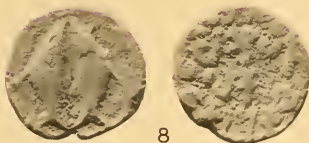
5



6



7



8



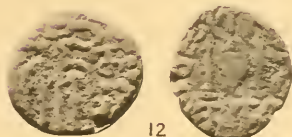
9



10



11



12



13



14



15

FULL-SIZE.

1173 (*ante*, p. 122). This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that, on the obverse of some copies of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 (*e. g.* on No. 12 of Plate i), we find the Tamil syllable *Su*, which appears to be an abbreviation of *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ*. Compare *Dé* for *Dévarāya*; *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 303, No. 12.

No. 14. Viśvanātha. M.

(Tracy, No. 9).

Obv. Same as No. 13.

Rev. A sceptre between two fishes, surmounted by a crescent and surrounded by the Tamil-Grantha legend :—

[1.] Vi- [5.] ṇ.
[2.] śva- [4.] da-
[3.] nâ-

Mr. Tracy, p. 6, took the final Tamil ṇ for a Grantha s, and the Grantha group śva for a Tamil va.

No. 15. Ditto. M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes.

Rev. A crescent; below it, the Tamil-Grantha legend :—

Viśva-
nâda-
ṇ.

No. 16. Ditto. M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes; above them, the Tamil legend :—

Pāṇ-
ḍiyaṇ.

Rev. The same legend as on No. 15.

Nos. 14 to 16 belong to Viśvanātha, the first Nāyaka of Madura (A. D. 1559 to 1563). No. 16 shows that he wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pāṇḍya dynasty.

No. 17. MH.

Obv. A standing figure.

Rev. { वेिंक Veimka-
 { षप षपा.

This is a variety of No. 37, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 308.

No. 18. H.

Obv. Three standing figures.

Rev. { वेिंक Veimka-
 { षपन [ta]panâ-
 { यक [yaka].

No. 19. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure, which faces the right.

Rev. { Vi-
(Grantha.) { rabha-
 { dra.

No. 20. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the right.

Rev. { ಶ್ರೀ 'Sri-A-
 { ಸಂತ namta.

It is not known to which of the rulers of Madura the names **Virabhadra** and **Ananta** on the reverse of Nos. 19 and 20 refer. But the style of the kneeling figure on the obverse connects the Grantha coin No. 19 with the Tamil coins of Bhuvanaikavira (Elliot's No. 138) and Samarakôlâhala, and the Kanarese coin No. 20 with the Nâgarî coins of Kṛishṇarâya and Sadâsivarâya (No. 5, above).

No. 21. H.

Obv. A lion, facing the right.

Rev. { Minâ-
(Tamil.) { tchi.

Minâkshi is the name of the goddess of Madura. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 203, queen Minâkshî of the Nâyaka dynasty ruled from A. D. 1731 to 1736. The reverse of the coin may refer to the goddess, or to the queen, or to both at the same time.

No. 22. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 21.

Rev. { Madu-
(Tamil.) { rai.

No. 23. MH.

Obv. ಮಧುರಾ Madhurâ.

Rev. Same as No. 22.

The obverse of No. 22 connects this coin with No. 21. The bilingual coin No. 23 agrees with No. 22 in the reverse, which bears the Tamil name of the city of Madura, while its Telugu equivalent occupies the obverse.

IV. BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY COINS.

No. 24. MH.

(Tufnell, No. 49; Thurston, Plate xii. No. 1).

Obv. ಶ್ರೀ 'Sri.

Rev. { Kum-
(Tamil.) { piṇi.

No. 25. MH.

Obv. An eight-pointed star.

Rev. Same as No. 24.

The reverse of Nos. 24 and 25 is an early attempt to transliterate the word "**Company**" in the vernacular character. The auspicious monosyllable *Śrî* (Fortune) appears to be inserted on the obverse of No. 24 from similar motives as the word *Śrîraṅga* on Nos. 26 to 29.

No. 26. H.

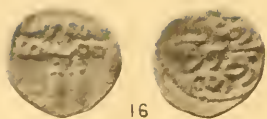
Obv. An orb, surmounted by a cross.

Rev. { ಶ್ರೀ 'Sri-
 { ರಂಗ raṅga.¹²

¹² On some specimens of this and the next coins, the second line of the legend reads ರಂಗ instead of ರಂಗ through a mistake of the engraver of the die. See Nos. 26 b and 28 of Plate ii.

SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

Plate ii.



16



17^a



17^b



18



19



20.



21



22



23



24



25



26^a



26^b



27



28



29



30^a



30^b

FULL-SIZE.

No. 27. H.—A.D. 1678 (?).

(Atkins, p. 140, No. 34).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figure 78 inscribed in the lower portion of the orb.

Rev. Same as No. 26, with the addition of a double line between the two lines of the legend.

Mr. Atkins attributes this coin to the Bombay Presidency; but the Southern characters on the reverse prove it to be a Madras issue.

No. 28. H.—A.D. 1698.

Obv. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 16 \\ 98 \end{array} \right\}$ in a circle.

Rev. Same as No. 27.

No. 29. H.—A.D. 1705.

(Thurston, Plate xii. No. 3 ?).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figures 17 and 05 inscribed in the upper and lower half of the orb.

Rev. Same as Nos. 27 and 28.

The word *Śrīraṅga*, which appears on the reverse of Nos. 26 to 29, is, as a neuter, the name of a celebrated shrine of Viṣṇu near Trichinopoly, but is also used in the masculine gender as an epithet of the god Viṣṇu himself. This reverse was probably selected by the Company with the view of making their coin popular with the native public, and of matching the image of Viṣṇu, which was engraved on all the Madras pagodas.

V.—FRENCH COIN OF KARIKAL.

No. 30. H.

(Tufnell, No. 48).

Obv. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Pudu-} \\ \text{chchê-} \\ \text{ri.} \end{array} \right.$

Rev. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Kâ-} \\ \text{raik-} \\ \text{kâl.}^{13} \end{array} \right.$

Puduchchêri and **Kâraikkal** are the original Tamil forms of the names of the French settlements Pondicherry and Karikal.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from page 311.)

20. mahâniyamṭhijjaṃ (cf. chap. 6), mahâniṅgraṃthīyâṃ; aṇāhapavvayyâ S; 60 vv. Of the anāthatvaṃ; Sēṇiô Magahâhivô v. 2. The title found in S agrees with the contents (as was the case with 6 and 7).

21. samuddapâliijaṃ (lejjam V), samudrapâlīyâṃ, 24 vv. Of the viviktaacharyâ. Begins : Champâê Pâlīê nâma | sâvâê âsi vâṇiê | Mahâvîrassa bhagavaô | sîsô sô u mahappaṇô ||

¹³ No. 30 a of Plate ii shows the first and second lines of the obverse, and the second and third lines of the reverse; No. 30 b exhibits the second and third lines of the obverse, and the first and second lines of the reverse.

22. rahanêmijjāṃ, 49 vv. Of the anôrathanêmivach charaṇaṃ; utpannaviśrôtasikênâ 'pi dhr̥itih̥ kâryâ. Begins: [47] Sôriyapurammi nayarê | âsi râyâ mahiddhiê | Vasudêva 'tti nâmêṇaṃ | râyalakkhaṇasāṃjûê || 1 || tassa bhajjâ duvê âsi | Rôhiṇi Dêvaî tahâ | tâsiṃ duphaṃ pi dô puttâ | t̥thâ Râma-Kêsavâ || 2 || v. 1^{ab} | Samuddavijaê nâmaṃ | v. 1^d || 3 || tassa bhajjâ Sivâ nâma | tise puttê mahâyasê | bhagavaṃ Ariṭṭhanêmi tti | lôganâhê damisarê || 4 || . . .

23. Kêsi-Gôyamijjāṃ, Kêsi-Gautamiyāṃ; Gôtamakêsiyyāṃ S; 89 vv.; chittaviplutih̥ parêshām api Kêsi-Gautamavad apanêyâ. Begins: jipe Pâsi tti nâmêṇaṃ | arabâ lôgapûiê | . . || 1 || tassa lôgapaiṇvassa | âsi sîsê mahâyasê | Kêsi Kumârasamaṇê | vijjâcharaṇapârâgê || 2 ||. See p. 337 on upāṅga 2.

24. samiiu, samitiô S, pavayaṇamâyarô (!) C; 27 vv. Of the pravachanamâtṛisvarûpaṃ, i. e. the 5 samiti and 3 gupti, which are together also called aṭṭha samiiô: iriyâ-bhâsê-'saṇâ dâṇê uchêhârê samii iya | maṇôguttî vayaguttî kâyaguttî ya aṭṭhamâ || 2 ||. These are regarded as the mothers as regards the duvâlasaṃgāṃ Jigakkhayaṃ pavayaṇaṃ. See *Ind. Streifen*, I, 133, 200, 2, 047, in reference to the ethical three-fold division into maṇô, vaya, kâya.

25. jannaïjjaṃ, yajñiṇyaṃ, 45 vv. Jayaghôshacharitarvaṇanadvârêṇa brahmaguṇâ ihô 'chyaṃtê. Begins: mâhaṇakulasāmbhâô | âsi vipphô mahâjasô | jâyâi-jamajannammi (yamayañjê) | Jayaghôsu tti nâmâô || ||

26. sāmâyârî, dasasâ° C, 53 vv. Only he who is in possession of the brahmaguṇas (chap. 25) is a yati, tēna chā 'vaśyaṃ sāmāchārī vidhēyâ. This is ten-fold:³⁴ [48] āvassiyâ, nisīhiyâ,³⁵ āpucchāṇâ, paḍipucchāṇâ, chhaṃdanâ, ichhākārô, michhākārô, tahakkārô, abbhutṭhāṇaṃ, uvasaṃpayâ. The similar enumeration in Āvaśy. nijj. 7, 12, where there is, however, a different arrangement (the same as in aṅga 3, 10, and Bhag. 25, 7 according to L.): — ichhākārô, michhâ, tahakkārô (6—8), āva° . . chhaṃdanâ (1—5), nimaṇṭanâ (instead of 9), uvasaṃpayâ (10). — Hari-bhadra on Āvaśy. nijj. 6, 33, says³⁶ that there are three kinds of sāmāchārî, 1. the ôghasāmāchārî, represented by the ôghaniryukti, on the 20th prābhṛitāṃ (ôghaprâ°) of the 3. vastu (āchārābhi-dhāna) pūrva 9, 2. the daśavidhasāmāchārî, for which our chapter and Āv. nijj. 7 is authoritative, and 3. the padavibhāgasāmāchārî, which too is represented by chhēdasūtralakṣhaṇān nava-māt pūrvād ēva nirvyūdhā, or lōy kalpavyavahāraṃ.³⁷ — Begins: sāmâyârîṃ pavakkhāmi savvaduk-khaviṃmukkhāṇiṃ | jaṃ charittāṇa niggaṃthâ | tinnâ saṃsārasāgaraṃ || 1 ||

27. khalumkijjāṃ, khlu° V, 15 vv. Of the śaṭhatâ; the aśaṭhatâ is the antecedent condition for the sāmāchārî. It begins: thêrê gaṇaharê Gagjê (Gârgyaḥ) muṇi āsi visârâê | āinnê gaṇibhāvammi samāhiṃ paḍisaṃdhâê || || The name comes from v. 3: khalumkê jô u jôêi, khalumkân galivṛisabhān (s. Hêm. 1263) yô yôjayati.

28. mukkhamaḡgagaṇi, sivamaḡga° C, 36 vv. Of the mōkshamârga. Begins: mukkhamaḡ-gagaṇi tachehaṃ | suṇēha jipabhâsiyaṃ . .

29. sammattaparakkamaṃ, samyaktra°; appamâô S. In prose; anaṇṭaram (in chap. 28) jñānādini muktimârgatvêṇô 'ktāni, tāni cha saṃvêgādīmūlāni akarmatâvasānāni; [49] yadvâ mōkshamârgagatêr apramâda ēva (on this then is based the title in S) pradhānaṃ. Enumeration of the 73 saṃvêgādini, means of deliverance (cf. Leumann, Gloss. Anp. p. 155, s. v. saṃvêjāṇa): saṃvêgê 1, nivvêê 2, dhammasaddhâ 3, gurusāhammiyasusûsaṇayâ 4, âlôṇāya 5, nimdaṇayâ 6, garihaṇayâ 7, sāmāiê and the remaining 5 āvassaya s — 13 etc. to akammayâ 73 (cf. the 48 saṃvêgādini, Bhagav. 16, 3, and 27 saṃv. in aṅga 4, 27, Leum.). As in the beginning (see p. 43) so in the end there is a direct reference to Mahāvîra: ēsa khalu sammattaparakkamassa ajjha-yaṇassa aṭṭhê samāṇenaṃ bhagavayâ Mahāvîrēṇaṃ agghaviê pannavi parivîê dāmsiê nidāmsiê uvadāmsiê tti bēmi.

³⁴ The word sāmâyârî recalls especially the *sāmâyāchārīkasūtra* of the Brahmins, with which the significance and contents of these texts is in agreement. From this I am led to conclude that sāmâyârî is an intentional deformation of sāmâyāchārî: see pp. 223, 238, 243 fg.

³⁵ naishēdhiki, see pp. 452, 257.

³⁶ See pp. 357, 449.

³⁷ The three sāmâyârî texts which I have before me — see pp. 223, 369 fg. — contain another division than that stated above. Their contents is, however, connected, and they agree in the main with each other.

30. tavamaggiijam, °ggô S, °maijjam V, 37 vv., tapômârgagati. Begins: jahâ u pâvagam kammañ rāgādōsasamajjiyam | khavēi tavasā bhikkhū tam ēgagamañō suṇa || 1 ||

31. charaṇavihi, 21 vv.; charaṇavidhi.

32. pamāyatthāṇam, 111 vv.; pramādashānani. Begins: echehamtakālassa samūlayassa | savvassa dukkhassa u jō pamākkhō | tam bhāsaō mē paḍipannachittā | suṇēha ēgañtahiyañ hiyattham.

33. kammapaṇaḍi, karmaprakṛitih, 25 vv. Begins: aṭṭha kammāñ (cf. Bhag. 2, 106) vuccāhāmi | āṇupuvvīm jahakkamañ | jēhīm baddhē ayañ jīvē | samsārē parivattāē || 1 || nāpassā "varaṇijjam | dāsaṇāvaraṇam tabā | vēyañijjam | tahā mōham | āukammañ tahēva ya || 11 nāmakayyañ cha gōyañ cha | aṇṭarāyañ tahēva ya. Closes: ēsīm sañvaī chēva | khavaṇē ya jāē (yatēta) buhē tti bēmi || 11 The nāṇam *e. g.* is (see N. Anuy. Āvaśy. Anupap. p. 41) five-fold: suyañ, ābhiniḍōhiyañ, ōhināṇam, maṇāṇam, kēvalam.

34. lēsajjhayaṇam, lēśyā°, 62 vv.; anam̐taram (in 33) prakṛitaya uktās, tatsthitīś cha lēśyā-vaśataḥ; apra[40]śastalēśyātyāgataḥ praśastā ēva tā adhiśṭhātataṇyāḥ. Begins: lēsajjhaya-ṇam pavakkhāmi | āṇupuvvīm jahakkamañ cchaṇham pi kammalēsāṇam | aṇubhāvē suṇēha mē || 1 || Closes: appasatthāu vajjittā | pasatthāu ahiṭṭhāē (adhiṭṭhāē) muṇi tti bēmi || 62 || Bhag. 1, 100, Leum. Aup. p. 149.

35. aṇagāramaggañ, °ggē S, °ggô V; 21 vv.; hīmsāparivarjanādayō bhikkhugunāḥ. Begins: suṇēha mē ēgamaṇā maḡjam Savvannudēsiyañ | jañ āyarañtō bhikkhū | dukkhāṇa 'ntakarō bhavē || 1 || Closes: nimmañ nirahamkārō vīyarāgō aṇasavō | sañpattō kēvalam nāṇam sāsayañ parinivvūḍa tti bēmi || 31 ||

36. jīvājīvaṇibhatti, 268 vv. Begins: jīvājīvaṇibhattim | suṇēha mē ēgamaṇā iō | jañ jāṇiṇa bhikkhū | sammañ jayaī sañjamē || 1 || Closes: ii pāukārē buddhē | ṇāyāē parinivvūē | chattiṣa.ñ uttarajjhāē | bhavasiddhiā sammaī (sañvudē A) tti bēmi || 268 ||

At the end in some MSS. of the text and in the scholiast there are added some variant verses of the niryuktikāra in praise of the work: jē kira bhavasiddhiā | parittasamsāriā a jē bhavvā | tē kira paḍhami ēē | chhattiṣaṇ uttarajjhāē || 1 || . . .

XLIV. Second mūlasūtram, āvaśyakasūtram. By āvaśyaka, as we have often seen in the case of pañna 1, Nandī and Anuyōgadv., are meant six observances which are obligatory upon the Jain, be he layman or clerical. That the regulations in reference to these observations had an established text as early as the date of N and An., is clear from the fact that they appear in the Nandī as the first group of the aṇaṅgapaviṭṭha texts (see above p. 11); and in the Anuyōgadv. the word ajjhayaṇachhakkavagga is expressly given as its synonym. See p. 22. We have also seen [51] that the Anuyōgadvārasūtram claims to contain a discussion of the first of these 6 āvaśyakas (the sāmāiyam), but that this claim is antagonistic to that limitation of the sāmāyam to the sāvajjajōgaviratiñ which frequently secures the Anuy. By this limitation an ethical character is ascribed to the work, the contents of which is, furthermore, at variance with the claim made by the Anuy.

The āvaśyakasūtram is a work which deals with all the six āvaśyakas in the order³⁸ which is followed in the Nandī and Anuyōgadvāra, and discusses the sāmāyam actually, not merely nominally as the Anuyōg. does. Unfortunately we possess, not the text of the āvaśy., but merely the commentary, called *śishyahitā*, of an Haribhadra,³⁹ which is as detailed as that on mūlas.

³⁸ See p. 434 on this arrangement.

³⁹ At the close he is called a pupil of Jinadatta from the Vidyādharakula, or an adherent of Sitāmbarāchārya Jinabhata: samāptā chē 'yañ śishyahitā nāmā "vaśyakaḥkā, kritiḥ Sitāmbarāchārya Jinabhataṇigadānusāriṇō Vidyādharakulatilakāchārya Jinadattasiḥsyasya dharmatō jōṇi (yākiñ!) mahattarāmnāñāralpamāñarā(?)chārya Haribhadrasya. The Gaṇadharasārādhāṣata is here referred to (cf. v. 52 fg.) and the great Haribhadra († Vira 1055): see pp. 371, 372, 453 fg. In Peterson's *Detailed Report* (1883) we find cited (pp. 6—9) under No. 12 a vṛtti of a Śrī-Tilakāchārya, scholar of Śivaprabha, composed saṁvat 1296.

1. Of this commentary there is but one MS., which, though written regularly enough, is very incorrect and fails in every way to afford the reader any means of taking a survey of its contents by the computation of the verses, etc. It labours under the defect of such manuscript commentaries in citing⁴⁰ the text with the *pratikas* only and not in full, with the exception of foll. 73^b to 153^b⁴¹ and some other special passages. The text is divided according to the commentary into [52] the six ajjhayaṇas, with which we are already acquainted: — 1. the sāmāiam, the sāvajjajōgaviraī, which extends to fol. 196^b, 2. the chaūvisaithava or praise of the 24 Jinas, extending to 204^b, 3. vaṇḍaṇayaṇ or honor paid to the teachers, reaching to 221^a, 4. paḍikkamaṇaṇ, confession and renunciation (to 298^b), 5. kāussaga, expiation to (315^a), and 6. pachchakkhāṇaṇ, acceptance of the twelve vratas (to 342^a).

By sāmāiam much more than the sāvajjajōgaviraī is meant. It is etymologically explained by samānaṁ jñānadarśanachārītrāṇaṁ āyaḥ (35^b). It treats not merely of the doctrine of Mahāvīra on this point, but also of the history of the doctrine itself, *i. e.* of the predecessors of Māhāv., of himself, of his eleven gaṇaharas and of his opponents, the different schisms (niṇhagas, niṇnavas) which gradually gained a foothold in his teachings. The latter are chronologically fixed. Haribhadra quotes very detailed legends (kathānakas) in Prākṛit prose (sometimes in metre) in this connection and also in connection with the diṭṭhanta and udāharaṇa which are frequently mentioned in the text. These legends have doubtless been borrowed from one of his predecessors whose commentary was composed in Prākṛit. The remarks of this predecessor, cited elsewhere either directly as those of the Bhāṣhyakāra (see on Nijj. 10, 47), or without further comment or mention of his name, he has incorporated into his own commentary. This too was here and there composed in Prākṛit. Occasional reference is made to a mūlaṭīkā (see on Nijj. 19, 122), which in turn appears to have been the foundation of the Bhāṣhyakāra.

[53] Even if we do not possess the text of the śaḍāvaśyakasūtram with its six ajjhayaṇas which was commented upon by Haribhadra, our loss is to a great degree compensated by a metrical Nijjuttī. This is even called āvaśyakasūtram at the close in the MSS., and is probably the **only Āvasy. text which is extant.**⁴² At least Haribhadra regarded it as an integral portion of his text. He has incorporated it, with but a few omissions, into his commentary, and commented upon it verse for verse. He cites its author not merely as Niryuktikṛit, °kāra, (*e. g.* on chap. 16, 17) as Saṅgrahaṇīkāra, as Mūlabhāṣhyakṛit (*e. g.* 2, 133), or even merely as Bhāṣhyakāra (*e. g.* on 2, 70, 142, *i. e.* just as the author of the above mentioned commentary in Prākṛit prose) but also occasionally as grāṇthakāra, °kṛit (see for example Nijj. 8, 44, 10, 95), and even as sūtrakāra, °kṛit (*e. g.* Nijj. 1, 76, 16, 50). The verses of the Nijj. are occasionally called⁴³ sūtras by him! From a consideration of these facts we are led to the conclusion that the sole difference between the text commented on by Har. and the Nijj. lies in the different division — the text being divided into 6, the Nijj. into 20 ajjhayaṇas. See below. The fact that Har. does not cite at all some sections of the Nijjuttī (for example the Thêrāvalī at the very start) may, however, be held to militate against the above conclusion. His text too contains besides the Nijj. several other parts, chiefly in prose, [54] which he calls sūtras or words of the sūtrakāra (see Nijj. 13, 53), *e. g.* especially a pratikramaṇasūtram given *in extenso*. He furthermore occasionally contrasts the sūtragāthā or mūlasūtragāthā with the gāthās of the Niryuktikāra. See on Niry. 11, 39, 61.⁴⁴

With this the following fact is in agreement: — several times in the MSS. of the Nijj. there are inserted in the text short remarks in Sanskrit which refer to the proper sūtram. This sūtram has, however, not been admitted into the text, *e. g.* Nijj. 10, 2, 12, 176. In one case, chap. 20, this sūtra portion (in prose) has actually been incorporated into the Nijj.

⁴⁰ 342 foll. Each page has 17 lines of 58—63 aksh. each.

⁴¹ Nijj. 3, 315—9, 3.

⁴² Cf., however, the āvaśyakaśrutaskandha in Kielhorn's *Report*, 1881, p. 92, and the śaḍāvaśyakasūtram in Bühler's paper in the *Journal of the Vienna Acad.* 1881, p. 574.

⁴³ *e. g.* tathā chē 'hō' padēśikam gāthāsūtram āha Niryuktikārah: samsāra° (2, 15).

⁴⁴ In other passages, however, he says that the verses even of the Nijj. are sūtras! See p. 53, note 2.

It is, furthermore, noteworthy that in the Nijjuttī, too, Haribhadra distinguishes different constituent parts and different authors (see p. 53). He refers its verses at one time to the niryukti(kāra), mūlabhāshyakāra,⁴⁵ and at another to the saṅgrahaṇikāra, or even sūtrakṛit (!). He thus brings these verses into direct contrast with each other⁴⁶ and subjects them to different treatment, by citing some, perhaps those of more recent date, in full, [55] either word for word or without commentary; while the remainder he cites as a rule merely by their *pratīkas* and then explains, first by a gamanikā, or aksharagam., *i. e.* a translation of each word, and finally by expository remarks called out by the nature of the subject.⁴⁷

Haribhadra too appears to have found a special defect existing in his sūtra text. Between chapters 8 and 9 of the Nijj. we ought to find the sūtrasparśinī nijjuttī according to his statement; but: nō 'chyatē, yasmād asati sūtrē (!) kasyā 'sāv iti. Haribhadra devotes a long discussion to sūtras in general, which recurs Nijj. 10, 2, 89, 11, 7 (sūtra and niryukti), 12, 17, 13, 55.

Using due caution in reference to an explanation of the mutual relation which exists in our text between Sutta and Nijjuttī, and in reference to the form of the text of the Āvaśyakam which existed in the time of Haribhadra, I subjoin a **review of the 20 ajjhayaṇas of the existing Nijj.** The two MSS. which I possess (the second I call B) show many divergences from one another, some of which are explainable on the score of inexact computation of the verses. Other MSS. contain much greater variations. The passages cited in Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 100 (104) as 2, 97, and p. 101 as 2, 332, are *e. g.* here 3, 281 (291), 332 (342). Very great divergences come to light in the two MSS. in Peterson's [56] *Detailed Report* (1883), pp. 124 and 127. These MSS. are numbered Nos. 273 (= P) and 306 (= π, with a break in the beginning; and chapters 1, 2 and 6 are lost). The text is composed exclusively in gāthās. One of its special peculiarities is formed by the frequent dāragāhās, *i. e.* verses which state briefly the contents of what follows, principally by the enumeration of the catch-words or titles of paragraphs. Unfortunately the use or denotation of these verses is not regular; from which fact the benefit to be derived from this otherwise excellent method of division is materially reduced. The Nom. Sgl. Masc. 1. Decl. ends, with but very few exceptions, in *ō*.

It must be prefaced that Haribhadra treats chap. 1—10 under ajjhayaṇa 1, 11—12 under ajjh. 2 and 3 respectively, 13—18 under ajjh. 4, and the last two chapters under ajjh. 5 and 6 respectively. This is done, however, without specially marking off the conclusions of the chapters of the Nijj.⁴⁸ Only the conclusions of the six ajjhayaṇas are distinguished from the others.

1. **peḍhiā, piṭhikā**, 131 vv. (in P the thirāvalī has nominally 125 and peḍhiyā 81 gā^o!) It begins with the same Thērāvalī (50 vv.) that occurs in the beginning of the Nandī, and treats, from v. 51 on, of the different kinds of nāṇa (cf. Nandī and Annyōgadva.). Haribhadra does not explain the Thērāvalī at all and begins his commentary (fol. 3) at v. 51: ābhiniḥhānāṇam | suanāṇam chēva ḍhināṇam cha | taha maṇapajjavāṇāṇam | kēvalanāṇam cha pañchamayam || 51 ||

⁴⁵ *e. g.* 4, 3, iyaṁ niryuktigāthā, ētās tu mūlabhāshyakāragāthā: bhimaṭṭha^o (4, 4—6).

⁴⁶ The sūtrakṛit appears here as later than the saṅgrahaṇikāra, fol. 260a: — tām abhidhīsur āha saṅgrahaṇikārah: ambē (Nijj. 16, 48) gāhā, asi^o (49) gāthā; idaṁ gāthādvayaṁ sūtrakṛin-niryuktigāthābhīr ēva prakāṭhābhīr vyākhyāyatē (sūtrakṛitā . . vyākhyāyatē or sūtrakṛin niryu . . vyākhyātī would be better); dhādaṁti padhāḍam ti . . ; then follows the text of Nijj. 16, 50—54 in full but without commentary. Here it is to be noticed that one of the MSS. of the Nijj. in my possession omits these 15 verses from the text. See p. 59 in regard to the assumption that the Nijj. is the work of several authors.

⁴⁷ An occasional reference to other methods of treating the subject is found, *e. g.* 2, 61, iti samāsārthaḥ, vyāsārthas tu viśeṣavivarāṇād avagantavyaḥ. Or on 10, 19, iti gāthāksharārthaḥ, bhāvārthas tu bhāshyagāthābhīyō 'vasēyah, tās chē 'māh (in Prākṛit, but not from the Nijj.)

⁴⁸ Chapter 8 forms an exception, though at the end at least it says: samāptā chē 'yam upōghātān niryuktir iti, but in such a way that it is not mentioned as the "eighth chapter"; nor is the statement made that it is concluded.

[57] 2. *paḍhamā varachariā*, 173 (178 P, 179 B) vv., treats, from v. 69 on, of the circumstances of the lives, etc., of the 24 Jinas, especially of Usabha, the first of their number. In the introduction it is of extreme interest to notice the statements of the author in reference to his own literary activity. It is as follows :

titthayarê bhagavaintê | aṇuttaraparakkamê amianāñi | tinnê sugaigāigāê | siddhipahapâêsê
vaṁdê || 1 ||

vaṁdāmi mahābhāgam | mahāmuṇiṁ mahāyasaṁ Mahāvīraṁ | amaranararāyamahīam |
titthayaram imassa titthassa || 2 || ikkārasa vi gaṇaharê | pavāyāê pavayaṇassa vaṁdāmi |
savvaṁ gaṇaharavaṁsaṁ | vāyagavaṁsaṁ pavayaṇaṁ cha || 3 || tē vaṁdiṇṇa sirasā | atthapu-
huttassa⁴⁹ tēhiṁ kahiassa | suanāṇassa bhagavaô | niyyuttiṁ⁵⁰ kittāissāmi || 4 || āvassagassa
dasakā- | liassa taha uttarajjha-m-āyārê⁵¹ | suagaḍê niyyuttiṁ | buchchhāmi taha dasāṇaṁ
cha || 5 || kappassa ya niyyuttiṁ | vavahārassê 'va paramaniṇṇassa | sūriapannattîê | buchchhāmi
isibhāsīṇaṁ⁵² cha || 6 ||

êêsīṁ niyyuttiṁ | buchchhāmi ahaṁ jīṇovâêsēṇaṁ | āharaṇahēṇkāraṇa- | payanivaham iṇaṁ
samâsēṇaṁ || 7 ||

sāmāniyyuttiṁ | buchchhāmi uvâêsīaṁ gurujaṇēṇaṁ | āyariaparamparēṇa | āgayaṁ
āṇupuvvîê || 8 ||

niyyuttā tō .atthā | jaṁ baddhā tēṇa hōi niyyuttî | taha vi ā chchhāvêi | vibhāsīṁ
suttaparivāḍi || 9 ||

There is no doubt that we have here the beginning of a work, [58] and that chapter 1 (which is itself called *pīṭhikā*, support, complement) did not yet precede these verses at the period of their origin.⁵³ From vv. 5 and 8 we learn that the author does not intend to write an introduction merely for this second chapter, but that his work is designed for all the *āvaśyaka* matter and especially the *sāmāyam*. The separate statements of his account show that he intended to carry his investigations into the first two *āṅgas* too, the fifth *upāṅgaṁ*, three *chhēdasūtras*, two more *mūlasūtras*,⁵⁴ and, if Haribhadra's explanation of *isibhāsī* is correct,⁵⁵ to *pañna* 7 fgg.

If we compare these statements with those in the commentary of *Rishimaṇḍalasūtra* in Jacobi, *Kalpas*, p. 12, in reference to the ten *niryuktis* composed by Bhadrabāhu, it is manifest that they are identical (instead of *kalakasya* in the passage in Jacobi we must read *kalpakasya*), and that Bhadrabāhu must be regarded as the one who in our passage speaks in the first person. This conclusion, however, is not supported by the *Thêrāvalī* in chap. 1, which, as we have seen, p. 7, is much later than Bhadrabāhu. Nevertheless, we have just above formed the opinion that this contradiction is immaterial, since this *pīṭhikā* is to be regarded as not extant at the time of the composition of chap. 2. [59] The greater is, however, the contradiction which is disclosed by other parts of the text, notably the first verse of the *ôghaniryukti* cited as 6, 89, and chapter 8, etc. The statements made there refer to a period much later than that of Bhadrabāhu, the old bearer of this name, and who is assumed to be the last *chaṭṭasapuvvi* († *Vīra* 170). All these statements must either be regarded as alien to the original text, or the

⁴⁹ *arthapīṭhutvaṁ*.

⁵⁰ *sūtrārthayôḥ parasaram niryôjanam niryuktiḥ*; — *kim asêshasya śrutajñānasya? nō, kim tarhi? śrutaviśêśhāpām āvaśyakādīnām ity ata êvā 'ha : āvassa?*; — *niryukti* is perhaps an intentional variation of *nirukti*.

⁵¹ *samudāyaśabdānām avayavê vṛttidarśanād, yathā Bhīmasēna Sēna iti, uttarādhyā ity uttarādhyayanam avasēyam*.

⁵² *dêvêṁdrastavādīnām*.

⁵³ They are placed thus in a palmleaf MS., No. 23, in Peterson's *Det. Report* (1883) (only 1, 51 *ābhiniḃôhia* . . . , see p. 56, precedes) at the beginning of a text entitled "*niryuktayah*," which contains at least several, if not all, of the above 10 *niry*.

⁵⁴ *dasavêlīam* is undoubtedly referred to under *dasakāliam*. See the same denotation in v. 1 of the four *gāthās* added there at the close. For the abbreviation see note 3 on p. 57 in reference to *uttarajha*.

⁵⁵ This is, however, extremely doubtful as regards the existing *pañnam* called *dêvêṁdrastava*. See pp. 442, 259, 272, 280, 281, 402, 429, 431, 43.

person in question may be one of the *later* bearers of the name of Bhadrabâhu, to whom these ten Niryuktis might be referred. The farther course of the account would then determine to what and to how late a period this Bhadr. belonged. All this is, however, on the supposition that we should have to assume that all the other chapters of the Nijjutti were the work of but one hand! In this connection the distinction is of significance which Haribhadra — see above pp. 54, 55 — draws in reference to the separate constituent parts of the Nijj. The fourteenth chapter is expressly stated by him to have been composed by another author, *viz.* Jñabhadda. See my remarks on pp. 61, 62 in reference to the incorporation of the ôhanijjutti. The result is that chap. 14 and several other chapters (9, 11, 12, 20) exist in a detached form in the MSS., without any connection with âv. nijj. At any rate the statements made in the text remain of extreme interest since they show the interconnection of the ten niryuktis mentioned in the text, and their relation to one author. A good part of these niry. appears to be still extant. [60] As regards the MS. of the niryuktayaḥ, mentioned above p. 58ⁿ, we must confess that Peterson's account does not make it clear in which of the above ten texts it is contained. On the âchâraniryukti see p. 258, Peterson, Palm-leaf 62, Kielhorn's Report (1881) p. 10; on a sûyagaḍaniijj. see Pet. Palm-leaf, 59, a dasavâlianiijj. *ib.* 167. We have also citations from the nijj. in up. 5 and mûlas. 1.

What follows is very interesting :—

attham bhâsai arahâ | suttaṃ gaṃthamti gaṇaharâ niuṇaṃ | sâsaṇassa(ṇasa!)hi atṭhâe |
taḍ suttaṃ pavattaṃ || 13 ||

sâmâia-m-âiam | suanâṇaṃ jâva bimḍusârâô | tassa vi sârô charaṇaṃ | sârô charaṇassa
nirvâṇaṃ || 14 ||

Here the *contents* of the doctrine is referred back to Arahan, but the *composition* of its textual form is ascribed to the gaṇaharas. See pp. 216, 345, above p. 35 and p. 80. The word sâmâiam, which we have found in v. 8 used as the title of the first âvaśyaka, is now used in its other signification, *i.e.* as the title of aṅga 1; for bimḍusâra is the title of the first pûrva book in the dīṭṭhivâa, aṅga 12. See above pp. 243, 244.

3. **biâ varachariâ**, 349 (also P π, 359 B) vv., of like contents.⁵⁶ It begins Vîraṃ Aritṭha-nêmim Pâsaṃ Mallim cha Vâsupujjāṃ cha | êê muttūṇa Jipê avasêsâ âsi râyâṇô || . . . Despite its seeming exactness, its statements give the impression of being apocryphal. Verses 2-7 (297) fg. treat of Siddhattha and Tisala,⁵⁷ the fourteen dreams of Tis., etc.

[61] 4. **uvasaggâ**, 69 (70 P π) vv., treats especially of Vîra.⁵⁸ The statements made here in chapter 4 take almost no notice at all of the facts in reference to the life of Vîra that are found here and there in the aṅgas; nor does the Kalpasûtram (see p. 474) devote a greater amount of attention to this subject.

5. **samavasaraṇaṃ**, 69 (64 P) vv., as above.

6. **gaṇaharavâô**, 88 (33 P, 90 B) vv. (is wanting in π); the history of the 11 pupils of Vîra: Indabhûi 1, Aggibhûi 2, Vâubhûi 3, Viatta 4, Suhamma 5, Maṇḍia 6, Môriaputta 7, Akampia 8, Ayalabhâyâ 9, Mâajja 10, Pabhâsa 11 (see Hêmach. vv. 31, 32); titṭhaṃ cha Suhammâô, niravachchâ gaṇaharâ sêsâ (v. 5). The contents is as above, and almost no reference is paid to the account in the aṅgas. It concludes with the statement (above p. 48): sânuvârî tivihâ: ôhê dasahâ padavibhâgê || 88 ||; in B there follows, as if belonging to this chapter, as v. 89 the beginning verse of the ôghaniryukti, and thereupon the statement itṭha intarê ôhanijjutti bhâṇiyavvâ. In A v. 89 appears as v. 1 at the beginning of chap. 7 and then follows in partial Sanskrit: atthau⁵⁹ ôghaniryuktir vaktavyâ; after this verse 1 of chap. 7 according to the new computation. There is probably an interpolation here. Since chap. 7 treats

⁵⁶ Jina 6 is called Paṇimâbha (v. 23), Jina 8 Sasippaha (v. 24), Jina 19 Malli appears as a masc. (Mallissa v. 30).

⁵⁷ On Dêvânâmlâ see v. 279 (293); but Usabhadatta is not mentioned. We read Sômilâbhidhânê in the scholiast.

⁵⁸ Gosâla v. 15 fg.

⁵⁹ attha instead of atra.

of the second of the three sāmāchārīs enumerated in G, 83, and the first receives no mention, it was necessary to remedy this defect. The third sāmāchārī is, according to the statements of the scholiast here and elsewhere, pp. 357, 449, represented by the two chhēdasūtras : kalpa and vyavahāra. It is very probable that the interpolation is not merely one of secondary origin, but an interpolation inserted by the author himself. [62] If this is so, he deemed the ôhanijjuttī which he had before him (perhaps his own production) to be the best expression of the first form of the 3 sāmāchārīs, and consequently, not taking the trouble to compose a new one, incorporated⁶⁰ *brevi manu* this ôhanijj. (cf. above p. 59), or rather referred to it merely by the citation of its introductory verse. A complete incorporation brought with it no little difficulty, because of the extent of the text in question.⁶¹ The economy of the whole work would have lost considerably if the entire text had been inserted. The text which we possess under this name and of which the first verse alone is cited here, consists of 1160 Prākṛit gāthās.⁶² I shall refer to it later on, and call attention for the present to what I have said on p. 357^a : — that the first verse cited here from it, in that it mentions the dasapuvvī, excludes any possibility of that Bhadrabāhusvāmin, whom tradition calls the author of the ôghaniryukti, having been the first bearer of this name, who is stated to have been the last chaiddasapuvvī. The same, of course, holds good *à fortiori* of the author of our text, in which this verse is quoted.

7. **dasavihasāmāyārī**, 64 (Pπ, 65 B) vv.; cf. uttarajjh. 26; the enumeration here in chapter 7 is as follows (see above p. 48) : ichchhā, michchhā, tahakkārō, āvassīā nisihiā, āpuchchhaṇā ya [63] paḍipuchchhā chhaṇḍaṇā ya nimaṇṭaṇā || 1 || uvasaṃpayā ya kâlê sāmāyārī bhavê dasavihā u | êssim tu payāṇaṃ pattêa parūvaṇaṃ buchchhaṃ || 2 ||

8. **uvagghāyanijjuttī**, 211 (214 B, 216 P, 210 π) vv. In vv. 40-50 glorification of Ajja-Vayarā (plur. maj.), °Vairā, Vajrasvāmin, who extracted⁶³ the āgāsagamā vijjā from the mahāpāinnā (see p. 251) and made ample use of the latter. In his time there still existed (p. 247) apubattē kālīānuōassa, apṛithaktvaṃ kalikānnyōgasya, but after him (tēṇā "rēṇa, tata ārataḥ, Haribh.), i. e. perhaps *through* him there came into existence puhattāṃ kālīasua diṭṭhivāē a,⁶⁴ pṛithaktvaṃ kālīkaśrutē drisṭhivādē cha (v. 40). Tumbavaṇa, Ujjēṇī, Dasapura, nayaraṃ Kusumanāmē (Pāṭaliputra) appear in regular order as exercising an important influence upon his life. In vv. 50—53 glorification of his successor Rakkhiājā (plur. maj.), Rakkhiakhamāṇā, i. e. of Ārya Rakshitasvāmin, son of Sōmadēva and Ruddasōmā, (elder) brother of Phaggnurakhiā and pupil of Tōsaliputta. These two names : Vajrasvāmin and Āryarakshita (cf. Hēmachandra's parīśiṣṭap. chaps. 12, 13), especially as they are regarded here as persons deserving of great honor, bring us to a period much later than the *old* Bhadrabāhusvāmin. According to the statements of the modern Thêrāvalī (see Klatt, l. c. pp. 246b, 247a,) 252^a, his death is placed Vīra 170, but that of Vajra, 400 years later, Vīra 584.⁶⁵ We will find below that [64] there is mentioned here another date later by several years. Hēm. v. 34 too says that Vajra is the last "daśapūrvīn," one who still has knowledge of 10 of the 14 pūrvas, and in general that he is regarded as deserving great honour as regards the transmission of the sacred texts. See the account of Dharmaghōsha on the Kupakshakaśūṣik., Kup. p. 21 (811). The two-fold division into kālīasua and diṭṭhivāa (also in the Anuyōgadv. above, pp. 36, 40), dating back as far as Vajra according to v. 40, is in contrast to a no less peculiar division into four parts, referred back in v. 54 fg. to Ārya Rakshita : kālīasuam cha isibhāsiyāṃ taṭṭa sūrapan-

⁶⁰ In the Vidhiprapā (in v. 7 des jōgavihāṇa) the ôhanijjuttī is said to be "ôinnā," avatīrṇā into the āvassayam.

⁶¹ Haribh. says : sāmpratam ôghaniryuktir vāchyā, sā cha prapañchitatvāt (perhaps on account of its fulness) na vivriyatē; and likewise at the end : idāṇim padavibhāgasāmāchāryāḥ prastāvāḥ, sā cha kalpavyavahārārūpā bahuvistarā svasthānād avasāyā; ity uktāḥ sāmāchāryupakramakālah.

⁶² The ôghaniryukti, which in Pπ is actually incorporated with the text, has but 5S (or 79 π) verses. See below, p. 82.

⁶³ But according to the Gaṇadharasārdhaśāta, v. 29, it was taken from the sumahāpāinnapuvvāu ! see p. 479.

⁶⁴ In v. 36 there was mention of 700 (!) or 500 nayas, êhīm (v. 37) diṭṭhivāē parūvaṇā suttatthakapaṇā ya; each of the 7 etc. nayas — see p. 350 ff. and p. 39 — śatavidhah.

⁶⁵ See also Kupakshak. p. 21 (811)ⁿ.

nattī | sarvô a ditthivâô chaūtthaô hôi aṇuôgô || 54 || jaṃ cha mahākappasuam jāṇi a sēsāṇi chhēasuttāṇi | charaṇakaraṇāṇuôga tti kāliatthē uvagayāṇi || 55 || Here then the isibhāsīyāṇi (which Har. explains here by uttarādhyaṇanādīni! see above pp. 43, 58) and upāṅga 5 are enumerated as members holding equal rank⁶⁶ with the kāliasuam, i. e. aṅgas 1—11, and the ditthivāa, i. e. aṅga 12. Although the “mahākappasuam” and “the other chhēdasūtras” (kalpādīni, scholiasts) are said to have been borrowed from aṅga 12, they are akin (or rishibhāshita) to the kāliasua, i. e. aṅgas 1 to 11. Such is apparently Haribh.’s conception of the passage.⁶⁷

[65] In this text we notice that the different sections are frequently joined together without any break; and such is the case here. In vv. 56 to 96 we find very detailed statements in reference to the **seven ninhagas, nihnavas, schisms.**⁶⁸ After an enumeration (v. 56) of the names there follows a list of their founders, the place of their origin (v. 59), the date of their foundation (vv. 60, 61), and then a more exact list of all in regular order, though in a most brief and hence obscure fashion, the catch-words alone being cited. The kathānakas etc. adduced in the scholiast, help us but little to clear up this obscurity. The first two schisms occurred during the life of Vīra, the first (vv. 62, 63), the Bahuraya, bahrata, under Jamālī in Sāvattthī in the fourteenth year after he obtained knowledge (Jiṇṇa uppādiassa nāṇassa), — the second (vv. 64, 65), the Jivapaēsiya, under Tisagutta (chaūdasapuvvi) in Usabhapura in the sixteenth year thereafter. The third schism (vv. 66, 67), the Avvattaga, avyaktaka, under Āsāḷha in Sābiā (Svētavikā), in the 214th year after the end of Vīra’s death (siddhiṃ gayassa Vīrassa). They were “brought back to the right faith” (Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 9) by the Muria (Maurya) Balabhadda in Rāyagihā. The fourth schism (vv. 68, 69), the Sāmucheḥhēa or ‘ehchhēia under Āsamitta (Āsra^o) in Mihilapura (Mithilā) is placed in the year 220 after Vīra.⁶⁹ The fifth (vv. 70, 71), [66] the Dōkiriya, under Gaṃga in Ullamatīra (? A, Ullaga B, Ulluga scholiast, Ullukā in Skr.) in the year 228. The sixth, the Tērāsia, trairāsika, under Chhaluga in Āmtaramjīā, in the year 544, is treated of at greater length (vv. 72—87), though in a very obscure fashion. We have already seen (p. 351) that aṅga 12, according to the account of aṅga 4 and Nandī, devoted considerable attention to these schisms. Finally, the thērāvalī of the Kalpasūtra (§ 6) contains several statements in reference to the Tērāsīyā sāhā and its founder Chhaluē Rōhaguttē Kōsiyagottē. The latter it calls the scholar of Mahāgiri, who, as in the thērāvalī of the Nandī, is called the ninth successor of Vīra. But this is not in harmony with the above-mentioned date (544 after Vīra), since it is equivalent to an allotment of 60 years to each patriarchate. There is then here, as in the case of the name of the founder of the fourth schism — see 351ⁿ, 381 — a considerable discrepancy in the accounts. The seventh schism, the Abaddhiā (vv. 88—91), under Goṭṭhāmāhila in Dasapura is referred to the year 584 and brought into connection with Ayya Rakkhia, Pūsamitta and with the ninth puvva (p. 356). The first of these statements harmonizes with the other information concerning Rakkhia which we possess. See p. 63, Klatt p. 247^b. The name Pūsamitta is frequently met with. According to Mērutuṅga’s *Vichāraśrēṇi* (see Bühler, *ante*, 2, 362, and Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 7), there reigned a Pūsamitta, successor of the Maurya (the Pushyamitra of the *Mahābhāshya*, etc.!), in the years 323—353 after Vīra. Neither can he be the one referred to here, nor the Pūsamitta who was

⁶⁶ The terminology in the Nandī — see above p. 11 — is quite different. There the kāliam suam, together with the ukālām, as a subdivision of the anaṅgapavittā texts, is opposed to the duvālasaṃgaṇip; the isibhāsīyāṇi, together with the sūrap. are regarded as parts of the kāliyam. In reference to the use of the word in Anuy. see above, p. 36ⁿ 2.

⁶⁷ upalakṣhapāt kālīkaśrutam charaṇakaraṇāṇuyōgaḥ, rishibhāshitāni dharmakathāṇuyōga itī gamyatē; sarvas cha drishṭivādaś chaturthō bhavaty anyōgaḥ, dravyāṇuyōga itī; tatra rishibhāshitāni dharmakathāṇuyōga itī uktam, tatas cha mahākappaśrutādīni rishibhāshitam tvā (tatvāt?), drishṭivādāḥ uddhṛitya teshāṃ pratipāditatvāt. dharmakathāṇuyōgavā (? tvāch cha?) prasaṅga ity atas tadapōhadvārachikīrṣhayā” ha: jaṃ cha . . (v. 55). See p. 258.

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 275, 381 on aṅga 3 and upāṅga 1. Further information is found in the second chhēdasūtra (see p. 463) and in the scholiast on uttarajjh. 3, 9.

⁶⁹ Abhayadēva on up. 1 mentions Pushyamitra instead of Āsamitta. See p. 381. Is this merely a *lapsus calami*?

the founder of the Pûsamittijjâm kulâm of Châranagana in § 7 of the thêrâvalî of the Kalpas., which emanated from Sirigutta, the pupil of the tenth [67] patriarch Subatthi. The name Pûsamitta occurs here too in chap. 17 (16), 190 (see p. 74ⁿ), as that of a contemporary of king Muḍimbaga and of Ayya Passabhûi. Abhayadêva on up. 1 mentions him as the founder of the fourth schism. See p. 65ⁿ.

In addition to these seven schisms there was an eighth (vv. 92—95), that of the Bôḍia, Pautika, according to Haribh., under Sivabhûi in Rahavîrapura (Ratha°) in the year 609. According to the account in Dharmaghôsha's scholiast on his Knpakshakauś., the Digambaras are referred to; see Kup. p. 6 (796) where I have attempted to shew that the name Bôḍia has the same meaning (naked) as digambara. The animosity against the Bôṭikas is as keen as can possibly be imagined. In the 22nd chapter of the Vichârâmṛitasamgraha, the remaining 7 niṇavas are said, according to Malayagiri's commentary on the Âvaśy., to be dêsavisamvâdinô dravyaliṅgênâ 'bhêdinô, but the Bôṭika: sarvavisamvâdinô dravyaliṅgatô 'pi bhinnâs. Similarly Haribh. on v. 92 (dêsavi° and prabhûtavi°); see also Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 15ⁿ. In the kâlasattarî, v. 40, they appear as khamanâ pâsamḍiyâ; also in Kup. 1, 37, 71, 2, 3; *ibid.* 1, 8, or as khavanaya, *i. e.* kshapanaka. See below, p. 75.

In contradistinction to these heterodox opinions (michhâḍiṭṭhi) we have the praises of the sâmaïam sung in v. 102 fg. We find it called⁷⁰ (v. 108) an "ajjhayaṇam" as opposed to the "remaining (five) ajjhayaṇas;" and the two verses closing with the refrain ii kêvalibhâsiam [68] are cited in reference to it. These verses recur in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra (see above, pp. 37, 38) as I have shewn on Bhagav. 2, 135. After the conclusion of the upôdghâtaniryukti we find in the scholiast (see above p. 55) the following statement: atra sûtrasparśikaniryukty (see p. 38)-avasaraḥ, sâ cha prâptâvasarâ 'pi nô 'chyatê, yasmâd asati sûtrê kasyâ 'sâv iti; to which is joined an elaborate deduction in reference to sutta and niryukti.

9. **namukkâranijjutti**, 139 (P_π, 144 B) vv. Towards the end we find the verse êsô paṇcha° (132), glorifying the paṇchanamukkâra, a verse we have already met with in upaṅga 4; see p. 393. In the last pâda we have here the reading havaï maṅgalaṃ; see Kup. p. 21 (811) fg., where this form of the versè is referred directly back to śrî-Vajrasvâmin. See p. 38ⁿ.³ on v. 6^b. A detached copy is found in Peterson, Palm-leaf No. 77^b.

10. **sâmâianijjutti**, 100 (π, 111 P, 112 B) vv. Begins: naṇḍi-āṇuôgadâram vilivad uvagghâiam cha kâṭṇam | kâṭṇa paṇchamaṅgala-m ârambhô hoi suttassa || 1 || The knowledge of the naṇḍi and of the āṇuôgad.⁷¹ is here regarded as a preliminary condition for the understanding of the sūtra. This citation is both *per se* of interest (see p. 3), and also because from it we can prove that the âvaśyaka texts quoted in these two works are to be distinguished from our âv. nijj. — though this was tolerably self-evident after the remarks on p. 53 ff. The text continues:

ahavâ (!): kayapaṇchanamukkârô karêi sâmaïam ti sô bhihiô | sâmaïamgam êva ya jam sô sêsam aô buchchham [69] || 2 || sūtram (atrâ 'mtarê sūtram vâchyaṃ B). On this Har. (see between 8 and 9): atrâ 'mtarê sūtrasparśaniryuktir uchyatê, svasthânatvâd, âha cha niryuktikâraḥ: akkhaliya (v. 3) tti,⁷² gâhâ. We have here then a very incomplete quotation of the text, see above p. 55. — In vv. 30—38 there are special statements in reference to the 11 karaṇas, the fourth of which is here called thîvilôyaṇam. See p. 414. In v. 40 we find a division of the suam into baddham and abaddham. The former is explained by duvâlasaṅgam and called nisîham and anisîham (see pp. 452, 553); the nisîham is explained as pachhannaṃ, and the following added in illustration: — nisîham nâma jaha 'jjhayaṇam (v. 41). In verse 42 we

⁷⁰ ajjhayaṇam pi a tiviham | suttô atthê tad-ubhâê chêva | sêsêsu vi ajjhayaṇêsu (chaturviṅsatistatavâdîshu) hoi êsê 'va nijjuttî (uddêsanirdêsâdikâ niruktiparyavasânâ).

⁷¹ naṇḍis cha anuyôgadvârâpi cha Haribh.

⁷² akkhaliasamhihi vakkhânapachaukkâê darisiammi | suttapphâsianijjuttivittharatthô imô hoi || schol. tatrâ 'skhalitapadôchchârapaṇi samhitâ, athavâ parah saṇnikarshah samhitâ (a fine Brahminical reminiscence!) . . padam, samhitâ, padârtha, padavigraha, châlânâ, pratyavasthânâ (see above p. 38) are here referred to.

find a citation from *pûrva* 2 — see above p. 354 — in immediate conjunction with the foregoing.

11. *chaivisatthaü*, 62 (61 BP) vv., second *ajjhayaṇaṃ* in *Haribh.* Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77^e.

12. *vaṇḍaṇanijjuttī*, 191 (189 π B. 190 P) vv., equivalent to the third *ajjh.* of *Har.* Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf No. 77^d. From v. 36 on there is a dialogue between guru and *chô*, *chôdaka*, see above p. 34. After v. 176 we read in the text: *atra sūtram*, and *Har.* quotes a text which begins with the words *ichhāmi khamāsamaṇe vaṇḍiṇiṃ*.

13. *paḍikkamaṇanijjuttī*, 54 (52 PB, 51 π) vv. Chap. 13—18, which correspond to the fourth *ajjh.* of *Haribh.*, presuppose a [70] *pratikramaṇasūtram*⁷³ given by him in full in sections. These chapters form a species of running commentary to each of the sections of the *pratik.* Chap. 14, 15 take up one section each, chap. 17 two, chap. 13, 16 contain the explanation of several sections. The sections explained in chap. 13 read: — *paḍikkamāmi ēgaviḥe asaṃjamē . . , p. dōhiṃ baṇḍhaṇēhiṃ, p. tihīṃ daṇḍēhiṃ, p. chaūhiṃ jjhāṇēhiṃ*. The entire following chapter is an explanation of the latter sentence. In π a *dharmajjhāṇaṃ* of 69 vv. precedes these sections commented upon in chapter 13.

14. *jhāṇasayaṇaṃ, dhyānasatakāṃ*, 106 vv. The last verse (106) which is omitted by *Haribh.* mentions only 105 vv., and states that *Jiṇabadda* is the author of this cento⁷⁴: *paṇchuttarēṇa, gāhā-sāṇa jjhāṇasayaṇaṃ samuddiṭṭhaṃ | Jiṇabaddakhamāsamaṇēhi khamāsōhikaraṃ jainō || 106 ||*. It had originally, as at present (see Peterson's Palm-leaf 77^a 161^b), a quite independent position and was later on inserted here. This is clear from the fact that the beginning contains a special salutation, which is usual only in the case of independent texts: — *Vīraṃ sukkajjhāṇag-gidaḍḍhakammimḍhaṇaṃ paṇamiṇṇaṃ | jōisaraṃ sarannaṃ, jhāṇajjhayaṇaṃ parakkhāmi || 1 ||* *Haribh.* cites this *dhyānasatakāṃ* just as he usually cites his [71] *kathānaka*: *ayaṃ dhyānasamāsārthaḥ, vyāsārthas tu dhyānasatakād avasēyaḥ, tath chē 'dāṃ dhyānasatakāṃ asya mahārthatrāḍ vastunaḥ śāstrāntaratrāḍ (! this is plain; we should have expected 'tvāch cha) prārūṇbha ēva vighnavināyakaḥ pāsāntayē maṅgalārtham iṣṭadēvatānamaskāram āha: Vīraṃ . .* The explanation concludes (omitting verse 106) with the words: — *samāptaṃ dhyānasatakāṃ*, and the commentator proceeds with his explanation of the *pratikramaṇasūtram*: *paḍikkamāmi paṇchahiṃ kiriyāhiṃ*, again having recourse thereby to the *pāriṭṭhāvaṇiyanijyutti*.

15. *pāriṭṭhāvaṇiā*, 151 (152 P, 153 π B) vv. Begins: *pāriṭṭhāvaṇiavihiṃ | buccāmi dhīrapurisapannattāṃ | jain nāṇa suvhiā pavayanasāram uvalahaṃti || 1 ||* This chapter, too, gives me the impression of having originally enjoyed a separate existence. Nevertheless it is closely connected with chapter 18, since they both share this form of introduction. It is also noticeable that the same verse recurs with tolerable similarity in 20, 9; from which we may conclude that chapters 16, 18, 20 were composed by one author. *Haribh.* in this chapter omits or leaves a large number of verses unexplained; and beginning with v. 79. His commentary is partially composed in *Prākṛit*, probably taken from the old *bhāṣya* (see p. 52). After the conclusion: — *paristhāpanikā samāptā*, he proceeds to cite and explain the *sūtram*: *paḍikkamāmi chhalim jīvaṇikāḍhiṃ*. In π there is an additional chapter *lēsāḍ*, with 13 vv., inserted between the conclusion and explanation.

16. *paḍikkamaṇasaṃghayaṇi, pratikramaṇasaṃgrahaṇi*, 133 (80 P π B) vv. The verses, which are not found in [72] B,⁷⁵ are cited in full by *Haribh.* as a part of his commentary.⁷⁶

⁷³ It begins *ichhāmi paḍikkamiṇiṃ . .*; it is in prose and different from the *śrāddha-* or *śrāvaka-pratikramaṇasūtra*, whose 50 *gāthās*, divided into 5 *adhikāras*, were commented in *Samvat* 1496 (A. D. 1440) by *Ratnaśākhara* from the *Tapāgachha* (No. 52 in *Klatt*). In Peterson's Palm-leaf MSS. there are two other similar texts, a *pratikramaṇasūtram* 86^a, 83^c (where it is called *atichāraprat*⁷) and a *pratikramaṇaṃ* 154^a (see p. 125b), which is different from the first.

⁷⁴ He appears in *Ratnaśākhara* as the author of a *viśēṣhāvaśyaka*. See preceding note.

⁷⁵ Pπ also presumably do not contain the verses: A 18-30, 32-43, 50-64, 68-80.

⁷⁶ On one occasion he calls these verses (vv. 50—64) *niryuktigāthās* of the *sūtrakṛit* (!), by which the *sūtrakṛit* (!), is said to explain the two preceding verses (43, 49) of the *saṃgrahaṇikāra*! See above p. 54^a 3.

The verses which A B have in common, are cited by him here, not as verses of the niryuktikṛit, but as a part of the saṅgrahanikāra. In these chapters we find explanations and enumerations of the contents of sections 6—31 of the pratikramaṇasūtram. Each group of verses is explained under its proper section. Chapters 14 and 15, however, belong to but one section. The following is treated of: 6 jīvanikā, 7 bhayaṭṭhāṇa (v. 14), 8 mayaṭṭhāṇa (v. 14^b), 9 baṁbha-chēragutti (v. 15), the 10-fold samaṇadhamma (v. 16), 11 nvāsagapaḍimā (v. 17), 12 bhikkhu-ṇaḍimā (v. 31), 13 kiriyaṭṭhāṇa (v. 44), 14 bhūyagāma (v. 45), 15 paramāhammia (vv. 48, 49), 16 gāhāsōlasa (vv. 65, 66), the 17-fold saṁjama (v. 67), the 18-fold abam̐bha (v. 81), 19 nāyaj-jhayaṇa (vv. 82, 83), 20 asamāhiṭṭāṇa (vv. 84—86), 21 sabala (śabala v. 87),⁷⁷ 22 parīsaha (v. 100), 23 suttagaḍajjhayaṇa (v. 102), 24 dēva (v. 103), 25 bhāvaṇa (v. 104), 26 dasā-kappa-vavahāraṇa uddēsaṇakāla (v. 109), the 27-fold aṇagāracharitta (v. 110), the 28-fold āyārapakappa (v. 112), 29 pāvasutapasam̐ga (v. 115), 30 mōhaniyyaṭṭhāṇa (v. 117) and 31 siddhāiguṇa (v. 132). We find herein enumerations of the 23 chapters of aṅga 2 (in two groups, one of 16, the other of 7; [73] see above p. 260), of the 19 chapters of the first part of aṅga 6, of the 26 chapters of the three chhēdasūtras 3—5, and of the 28 chapters of aṅga 1.

17. jōgasam̐gaha-āsāyaṇā, °āsātana; 64 vv.; in A counted continuously in conjunction with chapter 16, i.e. as vv. 134—197. In PπB, however, it is divided into two chapters: jōgasam̐gaha of 60, and āsāyaṇā of 5 (4 π) vv. It contains the vouchers for and examples (udāharaṇa-gāthā) of the 32 jōgasam̐gahas (to v. 193) and 33 āsāyaṇās,⁷⁸ āsātana (v. 194—197), which are mentioned in the last two sections of the pratikramaṇasūtram. The pratikramaṇasam̐grahaṇi (pr°uṇi samāptā) ended here according to Haribh. But with the words sām̐prataṁ sātṛōktā ēva trayastriṁśad vyākhyāyaṁtē . . . Haribh. comes back to the explanation of v. 197. These verses contain principally matters of legendary and historical purport, and consist chiefly of proper names and of some catch-words. Haribhadra cites very detailed kathānakas on them composed in Prākṛit, from which the meaning of the verses is to be extracted (svabuddhyā 'vasēyah); but he does not enter upon the explanation of the text of each of the verses, or even of the kathānakas cited by him. It is very interesting that Thūlabhadda is here brought into connection with the (ninth, Haribh.) Nanda, and with Sagaḍāla and Varan̐chi (v. 144, cf. the statements in Hēmach.'s parīśiṣṭaparvan 8,3 fg.). The same may be said of the mention of Sālavāvāhaṇa in Paṭṭhāṇa (v. 164; Vikramāditya is, however, not noticed), and of the identification, in all essentials, of all these and similar [74] names⁷⁹ with the names of king Dummuha of Paṁchāla, of Namī of Vidēha, Naggaṇi of Gaṁdhāra (v. 172), and with the Paṁḍavavaṁsa (v. 161)! As far as the legends admit of being comprehended (which is no easy matter, if we take into consideration the enigmatical character of the text and the corrupt condition of the MS. of the commentary), they are in only partial agreement with our information in respect to these persons obtained from Brahminical sources. The information they convey, is quite independent of any other source, and is probably the result of their arbitrary desire for change. It is of interest that the gāthā (v. 188), cited pp. 158, 159, which is quite in keeping with the character of the verses of Hāla, is here inserted in the legend of two prostitutes (Magahasuṁdarī and Magahasirī).

18. asajjhāiyanijjuttī, asvādhyāyika°, 111 (Pπ, 110 B) vv. Begins⁸⁰: asajjhāiyanijjuttin̐ buchechhāmi dhirapurisapannattaṁ | jaṁ nāṇa suvihiā pavayaṇasāraṁ uvalabham̐ti || asajjhāiyan̐ tu duvihan̐ āyasamutthāṁ cha parasamutthāṁ cha | jaṁ tattha parasamutthāṁ taṁ paṇ-

⁷⁷ On vv. 87—96 we read here: āsāṁ vyākhyā . . . , ayaṁ cha samāsārthaḥ, vyāsārthas tu dasākhyāḍ gram-thāntarād avasāya ēvaṁ (ēva), asammōhārthaṁ dasānusārēṇa sabalasvarōpam abhihitaṁ, saṁgrahanikāras tu ēvaṁ āha: varisaṁ (v. 97). The fourth chhēdasūtram (or its second book, see p. 468) is meant by the dasākhyā grantha mentioned here.

⁷⁸ Explained by āyāḥ (!) samyagdarśanādyavāptilakṣaṇas, tasyā sātanaḥ kham̐danā āsātanaḥ . . . ; as if the word was āyasāyaṇā (or āyā°?).

⁷⁹ As for example Vijā in Bharuachha v. 189, Muḍimbaga, Ajja Pussabhūi, Pūsamitta in Sambavaddhaṇa v. 190.

⁸⁰ Verse 1 is omitted by Haribh.

chaviham tu nâvavam || 2 || Closes : asajjhâianiijjuttî kahiâ blê dhîrapurisapannattâ | samjama-tavaḍḍhagāṇaṃ | niggamthāṇaṃ mahârisiṇaṃ || 10 || This chapter, too, appears to have originally existed by itself (see above p. 71, on chapter 15). It refers to certain faults in the study and recitation of the śrutam, which are enumerated at the conclusion of the 33 âsāyaṇs; but special reference is made to the cases in which akâlê kaô sajjhâô, etc. The pratikramaṇasūtram consequently is joined on in Haribh. as follows: nama chaūvisâê tithhayaṛāṇaṃ Usabhâi-Mâhavîrapayyavasāṇaṃ, . . . iṇaṃ êva niggamthāṃ pâvaṇaṇaṃ savvaṃ aṇuttaram ity-âdi, . . . ñêāvaṃ (naiyâyikam) [75] ti saṃsuddham ti, sallakattaṇaṃ ti, siddhimaggaṃ muttimaggaṃ nejjāmaggaṃ nevvaṇamaggaṃ ti, ichhâmi paḍikkamim gôyarachariyâê ity-âdi.

19. kaussagganijjî, 172 vv., fifth ajjh. in Har.

20. pachchakkhâṇanijjuttî corresponds to the sixth ajjah. in Haribh., and consist of three parts: — 1. A metrical section in 22 (26 B) vv., with an enumeration of the 5 mûlaguṇas,⁸¹ 2. A prose portion treating of the 12 vratas (5 aṇuvr., 3 guṇavr., 4 śikshâpadvr.). Haribhadra calls its sections sūtram; this is doubtless to be regarded as a bit of the sūtram, which is presupposed in the other chapters, but not directly admitted into the text of the Nijj. 3. A metrical conclusion of 74 (70 B) vv., which closes with the same two verses as chapter 10. There are 194 vv. verses in all given in P, but in π only 90. It stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77° (without statement as to the number of verses) and 86g (94 vv.). — The prose part (nominative in ê!) is directed with great vigour against the annaūthtiyas (anyatîrthika) and against the parapâsaṇḍapasamsâs, or the parapâsaṇḍasamthavas. According to Haribhadra, the Brahminical sects⁸² Bantika and Vôtika (Digambara, see above p. 67) are treated of under annaū°. The 363 doctrines attacked in aṅga 2 are referred to under parapâsaṇḍa. See p. 259.⁸³ According to H. there is no mention here of the seven schisms. [76] He mentions also a legend (in Prākṛit) of Chāṇakka and Chāṇdagutta in Pāḍaliputta. Cf. Hêmach. pariś. chap. 8 and 9).

Besides the Nijjuttî I possess a fragment of a second metrical treatment of the âvśyaka, which is, however, confined to vaṃdaṇa and pachchakkhâṇa. The former is divided into two sections, chaityavaṃdana and guru°. The text is only partially based upon the Nijjuttî. There is an avachûri (°chûrpi) to it from the commentary of a Sômasuṃdara (from the Chandra-gachha). This avachûri can be traced back to a Jñânasâgara.

[77] XLV. The third mûlasūtram, dasavêâliasuakkhamdha, dasavaikâlîka, or merely : dasaûlîa,⁸⁴ daśakâlîka. It consists of ten ajjhayaṇas, which are composed in ślôkas, with the exception of a few prose sections. There are furthermore two chapters called chûlâ (and hence

⁸¹ pâṇivaha musâvâê adatta mēhuna pariggahê chēva . || 8 || sâvayadhammassa vihiṇ buchchhâmi dhîrapurisaṇṇattam | jaṃ chariṇṇa suvihiṇ giniṇô vi suhâṃ pâvaṇti || 9 || On this verse see p. 71 on chap. 15.

⁸² anyatîrthikaparigrihitâni vâ chaityâni arhatpratimâlakshâṇani, yathâ Bhautaparigrihitâni Vîrabhadra-Mahâ kâlâdini, Vôtika-parigrihitâni vâ.

⁸³ Dr. Leumann called my attention to the fact that a letter of Schiefner to me dated Dec. 1857 — see *Ind.-Stud.* 4, 335 — contains the following statement extracted from the introduction of a Thibetan work edited by Wassiljew: "there are 363 different schisms in the religion of India." Since I found nothing of the kind in the introduction of Târânâtha, which was doubtless referred to here, I had recourse to Wassiljew himself. On the 8th of October 1883, I received from him the following kind reply: — "I cannot inform you definitely in which of my works 363 Indian schools are mentioned, if at all; but it is certain that this number is frequently mentioned in Thibetan works. In Djandja Vatuktu's Siddhânta, which I have at present before me, I find the following: 'In the sūtras are mentioned 96 darsana papantika[?], 14 dijakrita muluni[?], 62 injurious darsana, 28 which do not permit salvation, and 20 which are ruinous.' In Bhanîa's work Tarkadjvala all the darsanas are enumerated in 110 species, 'viz. . .'. According to my hasty count there are more than 120 names, probably because the same school is mentioned twice, i. e. in Sanskrit and Thibetan. And at the end, after mention of all 110(—120) species, we read: — in all 363 darsanas. As regards the names of these darsanas, it is too difficult for me to translate them into Russian and à fortiori into German, though, should you desire it, I will attempt it as best I may be able." I did not consider it necessary to have recourse again to Wassiljew's kindness, since, for the purpose in view, his communication was amply sufficient. It is clear from the above, compared with p. 259, that it will be difficult to expect complete agreement in detail; nevertheless the fact that the number of 363 darsanas is common to the Jains with the Thibetan Buddhists, is of great value.

⁸⁴ Thus in Âv. nijj. 2, 5, and in the Vidhipapâ.

secondary⁸⁵) of similar contents. These are in gâthâs. After them follow four gâthâs, in which Sijjambhava, according to the old thêrâvalî (Nandî, Kalpas.) the fourth patriarch after Mahāvîra, is stated to be the author;⁸⁶ but his son Ajja-Maṇaga and his pupil Jasabhadda⁸⁷ are mentioned in connection with him. This is indeed a claim of great antiquity for the author!

The contents refers to the viṇaya, and is clothed in a very ancient dress. That this is the case is proved by the close of a chapter: ti bāmi (also in the case of the two chûlās!) and by the introduction: suam mē āsam in the prose sections (with the exception of that in chûla 1.). The dasavêlîam, (see p. 11) is mentioned in the Nandî as being in the forefront of the nkkâliya group of the anañgapavittṭha texts; its position here, however, almost at the end, does not agree with the prominent place ascribed to it by N. It appears elsewhere as the last or smallest of the āgama (if I understand the words correctly; the preceding leaf is wanting in the Berlin MS. — see p. 214) in Hēmach. [78] in the pariśiṣṭap. 9, 99, and in the commentary on Nēmichandra's pravachanasāra, v. 1445, where Duḥprasaba, the last of the 2004 sūris which Nēmich. accepts, is designated as *daśavaikālikamātrasūtradharô 'pi chaturdaśapūrvadhara iva śakra-pūjyaḥ*. The author of the *Āvaśy. nijj.* asserts (2,5) that he composed a nijjuttī on it. A MS. of a nijjuttī which recognizes the chûliya is found in Peterson's Palm-leaf 167. Is it the work referred to? The word *veḷlīam* is said here to mean about the same as *vaikālikam*, "belonging to the evening" (*vikālê 'parāhṇê*).⁸⁸

1. *dumapupphî, drumapnshpikâ, 5 vv.* Comparison of the dhamma with a flowering tree. Cf. aṅga 2, 2, 1. *uttarajjh. chap. 10.*

2. *sīmānapuvva, śrāmāṇapūrvikâ, 11 vv.* Of firmness, dhṛitī.

3. *khuḍḍiāyārâ, kshullikâchâra, 15 vv.; sâ dhṛitir âchârê vidhêyâ.*

4. *chajjīvaṇiyajjh.*,⁸⁹ *shadjīvanikhâdhy.*, *i. e.* doubtless °*nikâyajjh.*; see above, pp. 71, 72. In two chapters, the first of which, in prose, begins *suam mē . .* and treats of the 6 grades of the four elements (earth, water, light, air), plants (*vaṇasā*) and insects (*tasa*); and of the 5 mahavvayas to be observed in reference to them. To these five a sixth, the *rāibhōapāṇ verimāṇam* (command against eating at night), is added. Chapter 2, in 29 vv., treats of the six forms of activity (walking, standing, sitting, lying, eating, speaking) necessary for these 6 mahavv.

5. *piṇḍesaṇā*, in 2 *uddēśakas*, with 100 and 50 vv., *bhikshâśôdhiḥ*, of the collection of the necessities of life and of rules for eating; see aṅga 1, 2, 1. To this is joined, [79] according to the *Vidhiprapâ*, the *piṇḍanijjuttī* (*mûlas. 4*); *ittha pi°ttî ôyaraḥ* (*ôṇṇa v. 7* of the *jôgavihâṇa*).

6. *dhammîrthakâmajjhayaṇam*, also *mahâchârakathâkhyam*; in 69 vv. — This *trivarga* (*tivaggô* also in the *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*) which plays so important a rôle in epic literature (*MBhâr.*, *Râmây. Manu*) is not known to the Vêda. Among the Jains and Buddhists, by whom *dharma* and *artha* are often brought into connection, though in quite a different signification (*artha sense, explanation*), the *trivarga* does not claim any place whatsoever. It is probable that we must connect it with the three *guṇas*: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. But in that case *artha* would respond to *rajas*, *kâm* to *tamas*, though *kîma* suits *rajas* much better. Has the Platonic trinity *καλόν, ὠφέλιμον, ἡδὺ*, which is Cicero's *honestum, utile, dulce*, wandered to India?

7. *vakkasuddhi, vâkyasuddhi, 57 vv.*

8. *âyârapaṇiḥi, âchârapraṇidhi, 64 vv.*

⁸⁵ This is evident from the title *dasakâliam* itself. At the time that the four gâthâs were added at the end, these two chûlâs had not yet been affixed, since the text in v. 1 is called, as one might expect from its title, merely *dasajjhayaṇam*.

⁸⁶ According to v. 37 of the *kâlasattari* it was composed in the year 98 Vîra.

⁸⁷ These three names recur in the same connection in the thêrâv. of the Kalpas. Jasabhadda is also in the Nandî the fifth successor of Vîra.

⁸⁸ In aṅga 2 the word means *vaidârikam*; in *paṇna 5* the meaning is not clear.

⁸⁹ *dhammapannattî vâ*, in the *Vidhiprapâ*.

9. vinayasamāhi, °samādhi, in 4 uddēśakas, of which the first three in metre, in 17, 23 and 15 vv., treat of the correct vinaya, especially in reference to the guru. The fourth is in prose with the introduction *suaṁ mē . .*, and establishes four fixed categories of the correct vinaya.

10. *sa bhikkhu-ajjhayaṇaṁ*, in 21 vv. All the verses end, as in Uttarajjh. chap. 15, with the refrain *sa bhikkhū*, and consequently enumerate the requirements made of a correct bh., who desires to live in accordance with the regulations contained in the preceding 9 chapters.

11. *raivakka chūlā paḍhamā, rativākya*, in two sections. The first in prose, without the introduction *suaṁ* [80] *mē . .*, enumerates 18 ṭhāpas which the bhikkhu must take and fulfil in order gradually to acquire *mukha*. The second, in 18 vv., partly with the refrain: *sa pachehā paritappaṁ*, emphasizes especially the obstacles to this quest and serves *sīḍatēh sthīrikaraṇāya*.

12. *chūla 2* without any special title (also in the *Vidhiprapā* merely *chūliyā*) in 16 vv., describes the correct course of action of the man of firmness.

The conclusion is formed by the 4 gāthās in reference to *Sijjambhava*, which have already been referred to. These gāthās are probably of later date. The work is called in v. 1 *dasakāliam* (as in *Āv. niḥj. 2, 5*, and in the *Vidhiprapā*) and also *dasajjhayaṇaṁ*; so that verse 1 at least dates from a period in which the two *chūlās* had not been added (see p. 77ⁿ²).

The text is frequently doubtful in the two Berlin MSS. The commentary calls itself an *avachūri* of the *vpihadvṛitti* of *Haribhadrasūri*.⁹⁰ Another *avachūri*, in *bhāṣā*, is the work of a *Rājahanisōpādhyāya*. A *laghuvṛitti* too is ascribed to *Haribhadra*. See p. 458.

FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 3.—*How Eve rescued the Prince.*¹

There was once a king, who dearly loved his queen, and she too loved him exceedingly. One day the king went to hunt, and met in the jungle a most beautiful woman. He fell in love with her and brought her home; soon she got his heart in her power, and one day she said "I will live with you only on this condition, that you get rid of your first queen." The king was grieved, but he was in her power, and he searched for a cause to discard the queen; but she was so good that he could find no fault in her.

One evening he challenged her to play chess and said, "This shall be the stake. If before the game is finished a jackal howls, I will take my new queen and leave my kingdom: but if a donkey brays, then you must go away." This was agreed on; before the game was over the jackal howled. The king said, "Lady, you have won. To-morrow I will make over my kingdom to you and depart." At this her heart was nearly broken, and, not wishing to distress her husband, she replied: "No, king, it was a donkey that brayed. I will leave early to-morrow." The king said, "No, it was a jackal that howled." On this they began to argue, and the king said, "Let us ask the sentry whether it was a jackal or a donkey."

So the queen went to the sentry and said:—"Was it the cry of a jackal or a donkey you heard just now?" "Mistress," he replied, "it was the howl of a jackal." The queen replied: "The king and I have sworn an oath about this. If you say it was a jackal, the king must leave his kingdom. How can I defend it against our enemies? Then all you people will be killed and your children will die of hunger. You must say it was a donkey that brayed." The sentry agreed, and the queen came back to the king and said: "The sentry says it was a donkey

⁹⁰ Ratnaśōkhara (on *Pratikramanaśūtra*) cites this *vṛitti* frequently; likewise the *Vichārāmpitasamgraha* quotes e. g. the following verse from it (or from the *niḥj. 2*): *tiṭṭhayaṛatthāṇaṁ khalu atthō, suttāṁ tu gaṇahara-tthāṇaṁ* (see p. 60) | *atthēṇa ya vaṇijijjā suttāṁ tamhā ya sō balavaṇi* ||

¹ A folktale recorded by E. David, a Native Christian of Mirzāpur, from the lips of Mahtābō, a cook-woman, and literally translated.

that brayed." "You lie," said the king, "I will go and ask him myself." When the king asked the sentry he made the same answer. So the king came back and said to the queen:—"You must leave this to-morrow morning."

Next morning the queen went off in her litter and at last reached a jungle. Through excess of grief she had not slept a wink the whole night, and was so tired that she fell asleep in the litter. Then the bearers, seeing night coming and in dread of the wild animals, quietly put the litter on the ground and ran away. When the queen awoke, finding herself alone and hearing the roaring of the wild beasts, she trembled and closed the doors of the litter. As night advanced tigers, bears and wolves roared all round her, and she lay inside trembling with fear.

When morning broke all the beasts of the forest went back to their dens, and she got up and prayed to God to appoint her some place where she could live in quiet, and get bread and water for her support. The Lord heard her prayers, and when she got out of the litter she saw a house inside a dense thicket. Going there she found that it had only a single door, which was locked. Looking about she saw the key hanging on a peg. When she opened the door, she went in and found a lot of property lying scattered about. So she locked the door thinking "the house may belong to some demon (*déô*), and if he sees me he will kill me."

When evening came a *faqîr*, to whom the house belonged, arrived and found the door locked. He knocked and said: "Open the door. Who has dared to shut up my house?" The queen made no answer, and did not open the door. When he got tired of knocking, the *faqîr* said: "Whether you are a *jinn*, or a *parî*, or a *déô*, or a human being, open the door, and I won't hurt you." Then the queen told him the whole story and said: "Promise that we shall live as father and daughter; then I will open the door." So the *faqîr* made the promise and said: "I will give you half of all I get by begging." The queen then opened the door, the *faqîr* went in, and they lived there for some time happily.

Now when the queen left home she was with child, and after some time gave birth to a son, who was very beautiful. When the boy was three or four years old, one day the queen took him to bathe on the sea shore. As she was bathing him a merchant's ship appeared, and when the merchant saw the queen, he desired to take her with him. But she refused. Then the merchant secretly showed the boy some sweetmeats and the boy ran up to him. The merchant seized him and put him into the ship, and loosed it from the shore. Seeing this the queen wept violently and implored him to give back her son. The merchant said: "I will restore him only on condition that you come with me." When the queen saw that he would not restore the child and was taking him off, through affection for the boy she agreed to go: but when the merchant desired to take her to wife she refused. The merchant thought that if he killed the child she would marry him, so after going some distance he stopped the ship, and with a pretence of great affection took the boy with him and pitched him into a well. When he returned to the ship the queen asked where her child was; he said: "I don't know. I took him a short way with me, but he turned back to you, and now I can wait here no longer." The queen was sure he had killed her son, and began to weep and bewail.

Now the fairies lived in the well into which the little prince had been thrown. They took him up in their arms and carried him quietly to their house. For two or three days the boy was quite happy, but then he began to cry and wanted to go back to his mother. But the fairies warned him, — "Don't go there, for the merchant will kill you." But he would not mind them. Then the fairies gave him two sticks, one white and the other black, and said: "When you smell the black stick you will become white as a leper, and when again you smell the white one you will get all right. So when you see your mother's ship, smell the black stick. If you don't, the merchant will take your life."

The moment the young prince got out of the well he ran in the direction where the ship had gone. The merchant from a distance saw him through his telescope (!) and recognised him. Then he got off the ship, took a sword and cut off his head, and then went on board again.

When night fell the prince was so lovely that light streamed from his face. By chance that night **Father Adam** and **Eve** (*Bábá Adam, Hawwá*) were flying towards that jungle. Eve looked down, and when she saw the light that came from his face, she said to Adam: "What light is this? Let us go and see." Adam replied: "This is the world, and it is sometimes light and sometimes dark; come along." Eve said: "No! I must see this light." So they both flew down, and when she saw the boy, **Eve took great pity on him, and cutting her finger let a couple of drops of blood fall on his head and trunk; then the boy came to life again.** Then Eve said to him: "Smell the black stick; if you don't perhaps the merchant will see you again and kill you." So the boy smelled the stick and became white as a leper and went off in search of his mother.

So at last he reached the land where his mother was, and **the king of that land had a great love of hearing stories.** Begging his way along the boy reached the king's palace, and the people said to him: "Lad, do you know any tales? If you can tell him a story the king will be much pleased and give you a reward." The boy said, "Yes! I *do* know a story; if the king hears it he will be delighted." The people gave him something to eat and entertained him kindly till the evening; and when it was night the king sat in his place and beside him sat the merchant; the king's wife, and the merchant's wife, and the boy's mother and several wives of the lords sat behind seven screens, and the boy was brought forward.

So he began to tell his mother's story and his own — how his mother was married, and how his father had turned her away, and how his mother bore sorrow in the jungle and how she came to the *faqir*, and how he was born, and how the merchant deceived his mother and threw him into the well, and how he got out of it, and how the merchant had killed him, and how he came to life, and how he changed his form by smelling the stick.

And as he went on telling the story his mother's heart became the more affected, and at last she said: "Bravo! boy! you have well said! Raise one of the screens." And by the time the boy had finished the tale all the seven screens had been raised. At last the prince said:—"I am the boy," and his mother said: "Smell the other stick." He did so and came to his own shape, and his mother fell on his neck and wept, and said:—"I never hoped to see you again." Then the king rose from his place and embraced them both; for, of course, he was the prince's father; and he turned out his wicked queen, and had the merchant executed, and he and his queen and the prince lived happily ever after.

MISCELLANEA.

TWO FURTHER PANDYA DATES.

No. 1.

In continuation of a note which appeared in the April part of this *Journal* (*ante*, p. 121 f.) I subjoin another date which deserves to be calculated by an expert. For an impression of the record which contains the date, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, I. C. S. The original is stated to be inscribed on the second *gōpura* of the Śaiva temple at **Tirukkalukkuṇṇam**, "the sacred hill of the kites," or **Pakshī-tīrtha**,¹ in the Chingleput district.

1 Svasti Samasta-jagad-ādhāra Sōmakulatilaka Madhurāpurī-Mādhava Kēraḷa-vaiṣaṇi[rmmā]lana Lankādvīpa-luṇṭana-dvītiya-

Rāma Chōlakula-śaila-kulīśa Karmāṭarāja-vidrāvaṇa Kāṭhaka(ka)-kari-kūṭapāka[la] vīvidha-ripudurgga-marḍḍana Vira-Kaṇṭha-Kōpāla-vipina-dā-

2 vadahana Kāñchi-puravar-ādhiśvara Gaṇapati-hariṇa-śārddūla Nellūrapura-(vi)virachitavir[ā*]bhishēka pra[ṇa]ta-rāja-pratishtāpaka² mahārājādhi(rā)rāja-paramēśvara Tribhuvana-chakrava[r]ttiga[li] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiya-dēvaṇṅku yā[n]ḍu 9āvaḍu Ishava-nā[ya]rru pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Se[v*]vāy-kkiḷa-

3 maiyum perṇa Pūnarpōsattu nāl.

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, *etc.*,³ — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Pūnarvasu, which corresponded to Tues-

² Read *protishṭhāpaka*.

³ The translation of the Sanskrit *birudas* is omitted, as they are the same as *ante*, p. 121.

¹ On the legends connected with this village see *ante*, Vol. X. p. 193 f. Mr. Venkayya has published three inscriptions from Tirukkalukkuṇṇam in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for October 1890 and April 1892.

day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabhā.”

The above inscription must belong to the same reign as the Jambukēśvara inscription of Jaṭavarman, *alias* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,⁴ because the same *birudas* are applied to the king in both. A third date of a king Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who bore the surname Jaṭavarman, appears to be contained in an inscription at Vikkiramangalam in the Madura district.⁵ But I am unable to vouch for the correctness of the published transcript, as I have no impressions at hand.

No. 2.

The following date occurs at the beginning of an inscription on the East wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly.

1 Śrī-kō-Mārapaṇmar-āṇa
Tribhuvāṇachakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Sōṇāḍu
vaṅgi aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-
var[k*]ku yāṇḍu oṇḇadāvadu

2 Mēsha-nāyargu apara-pakshattu tṛitīyai-
yum Velli-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Viśāgattu nāl.

“In the ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māṇavarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chōḷa country (among Brāhmaṇas), — on the day of (the *nakṣatra*) Viśākhā, which corresponded to Friday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The Sundara-Pāṇḍya of this inscription calls himself Māṇavarman, while that of the Jambukēśvara inscription bore the surname Jaṭavarman. Accordingly, the two kings must be considered as distinct from each other. To the reign of Māṇavarman belongs the Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam cave-inscription, which is dated “on the three-hundred-and-twenty-fifth day of the seventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māṇavarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chōḷa country;”⁶ and the smaller Tiruppūvaṇam grant, which is dated in the eleventh year, and refers to the tenth year, of “Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who distributed the Chōḷa country.”⁷ E. HULTZSCH.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

‘NO’ AS A WORD OF ILL-OMEN IN BENGAL.

Mr. K. Srikanṭhaliyār, *ante*, p. 93, mentions that ‘No’ is a word of ill-omen among the Kōmaṭis in Southern India. In certain circumstances it is equally so in Bengal. No one will admit that there is no rice in the house, for fear of offending Annapūrnā, the goddess of the Corn and also of the Kitchen. The fact of the rice having

run short is intimated by saying with significance ‘the rice has increased’ (*baḍantā*). Anna-pūrnā is represented by the rice in the house, and in her hands the rice-ladle should never fail to supply all guests, however numerous. In this way she is peculiarly the symbol of Hindu hospitality.

Calcutta.

GAURDAS BYSACK.

BOOK-NOTICE.

COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century A. D., by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., R.E., London, B. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly. 1891. Octavo, pp. ix. and 118, with 13 autotype plates, and a Map.

This work of Sir A. Cunningham is the first book which deals systematically with the coins of Ancient Northern India as a whole, and is thus assured of a warm welcome from all Indian coin collectors and numismatists. The richness of the author’s cabinet and his unrivalled experience necessarily bestow on the book a distinctive value which could not be given to a work on the same subject by any other writer.

⁴ *ante*, p. 121.

⁵ Dr. Burgess’ *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. pp. 18-20.

⁶ Mr. Naṭhēsa Śāstrī (*ibid.* p. 45, text lines 48 ff.) reads: Śrī Kōmārapaṇmarāṇa Tribhuvāṇachakkaravattigaḷ Sōṇāḍu-vaṅgi-aruḷiya Śrī Sundaravarumadēvarḷku yāṇḍu oṇḇadu nāl muṇṇōṇṇ-irubatt-aṇḍiṇāl, while the original

The preface and the first forty-one pages of the treatise deal with metrology, the origin of coinage, and the Indian alphabets. In this part of his book the author reiterates many of the opinions on matters in dispute which he has frequently expressed in his other publications. Some of the positions maintained by him are open to attack, but for the present I pass these by, and proceed to consider the seventy-seven pages which describe the coins of ancient India.

The well-known coins of the Satraps of Surāshṭra and of the Gupta dynasty are not discussed by the author, as they have recently been

has Śrī-kō-Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvāṇachakkaravattigaḷ Sōṇāḍu vaṅgi-aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarḷku yāṇḍu oṇḇadu nāl muṇṇōṇṇ-irubatt-aṇḍiṇāl.

⁷ Instead of *śeraṇḍu alaṅkanar Sundarapāṇḍiyadēvarḷku yāṇḍu* Iḥadu (*ibid.* p. 37, reverse of the Plate, l. 1), the facsimile (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 143) reads Sōṇāḍu vaṅgi-ārḷiya Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarḷku yāṇḍu [pa]tt[āva]du.

fully described in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* by the late Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal, Mr. E. J. Rapson, and the writer of this notice. In a second volume Sir A. Cunningham hopes to deal with the coins of Mediaeval India from A. D. 600 down to the Muhammadan conquest, including the coinages of (1) the Rājās of Kaśmīr, (2) the Shāhīs of Gandhāra, (3) the Kalachuris of Chēdi, (4) the Chandēllas of Mahōba, (5) the Tōmaras of Delhi, (6) the Chauhāns of Ajmīr, (7) the later coins of the Sisōdiyas of Mēwār, and (8) those of the Pundirs of Kāngrā.

This is an extensive programme, and all numismatists will anxiously expect the promised volume.

The early punch-marked and cast coins form the first group described in the volume under review, but the section expressly dealing with them is not exhaustive, many punch-marked and cast coins being dealt with in other parts of the book. It is a great pity that Sir A. Cunningham did not prepare an index; for, small though his treatise is, it is full of matter, and an attentive reader finds it very troublesome to be compelled to note for himself all the cross references which require to be made.

Notes of time, marking more or less closely the date of punch-marked coins, are rare. The author records two of interest. On the authority of the late Sir E. C. Bayley he observes that a few *much worn* specimens of the punch-marked class were found in company with hemidrachms of Antimachus II., Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialcidas, and Menander.

The second note of time is afforded by the fact that three worn silver punch-marked coins, weighing respectively 34, 35, and 42 grains were found "in the deposit at the foot of the Vajrāsan, or throne of Buddha, in the temple of Mahābōdhi at Buddha Gayā. As this deposit was made about A. D. 150, during the reign of the Indo-Seythian king Huvishka, we learn that punch-marked coins were still in circulation at that time." This inference nobody will dispute, and coins of the kind may have continued to circulate much later in some parts of the country. The issues of Gupta silver coins did not begin before A. D. 400, and it is probable that the silver punch-marked coins remained in circulation up to that date in Northern India, and possibly even later. But I cannot accept the argument by which Sir A. Cunningham tries to fix the Buddha Gayā coins to a date of about B.C. 450. His words are:—"The three coins weigh 111 grains, giving an average of only 37 grains. But, as the general average of upwards of 800 of these coins from all parts of India is upwards of 47 grains, I

am willing to accept a loss of 19 grains [*scilicet*, from 56, the assumed normal full weight] in about 600 years circulation, or, roughly, from B. C. 450 to A. D. 150, as very exceptional. These three coins show a loss of upwards of 3 grains per century, while the average loss of these punch-marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century. It must be remembered that they were all hardened with copper alloy."

The assumption that the normal wear and tear of such pieces was a grain and a half in a century, seems to me rather arbitrary. It would be difficult to quote an example of any class of coins remaining in circulation for 600 years; and small silver coins would be completely worn away long before the expiration of six centuries.

British rupees forty or fifty years old are often withdrawn because they have lost more than two per cent in half a century, or, say, from five to six per cent of weight in a century, and I can see no reason why the rate of loss in the case of punch-marked coins should be assumed to be less. Three grains out of fifty-six is approximately six per cent, and that might be taken as the minimum possible rate of loss for the small thin punch-marked coins, which would wear much quicker than English made rupees. Every one knows that four-anna pieces wear out very quickly, and could not be kept in circulation for a single century. It seems to me that B. C. 200 is a much more likely date than B. C. 450 for the Buddha Gayā coins, and even that may be too early. I can find no reason for the belief of Sir A. Cunningham (page 43) that some of the punch-marked coins may be as old as B. C. 1000. I agree, however, with him that there is nothing to indicate foreign influence on coins of this class, and that the evidence clearly points to their being an Indian invention.

The conjecture that some of the punched symbols may have been private marks of ancient money changers, is plausible.

The punch-marked copper coins (page 59), are much rarer than the silver ones, and at least one-half of those that Sir A. Cunningham has seen, "are simple forgeries of the silver coins, which betray themselves by their weight (that of the fifty grain [*sic*] *kārsha*), and sometimes by the silver still adhering to them." Similar forgeries or imitations exist in the Gupta series, and in many other ancient coinages.

On page 60, in the account of the cast coins, two slips of the pen have escaped correction.

The word "bulls" should be "balls," and the statement that "No. 28 . . . is of six different sizes, weighing respectively 107, 76, 26, and 11 grains," requires amendment.

The account of the coins of Taxila, illustrated by two entire plates, is valuable. A series of rare inscribed coins found only at that place (now Shâh kî dhêrî in the Râwalpindi District) bears the legend *négama* (or, in one instance, *nigama*) in Indian characters of the Aśôka period. On some coins the word is written *nêkama* in Gandharian (*i. e.* Arian, or Kharôshthî) letters. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to interpret this word as the name of a coin, comparing it with the Greek *νόμισμα*, but this suggestion does not seem to be correct.

The word *négamâ* (*i. e.* *naigamâ*), occurs in the Bhaṭṭiprôlu *Stûpa* inscription lately discovered by Mr. Rea in the Kistna (Kṛishnâ) District, Madras, and is interpreted by Dr. Bühler (*Academy for 28th May 1892, page 522*) to mean "members of a guild." That inscription appears to belong to the age of Aśôka, or a time very little later, and the word *négama*, (*nigama*, or *nêkama*) on the coins, which seem to date from the same period, should, in the absence of good reason to the contrary, be interpreted in the same way. The word *négama* (including the variant spellings) on the coins is associated with an unmistakable figure of a steelyard balance, and also with the words *dôjaka*, *râlimata*, and *antarôtaka*, of which the meaning seems to be at present unknown. Sir A. Cunningham's etymological speculations concerning these legends do not command assent.

The very rare coins bearing the legend Odumbara or Odumbarisa, which have been found only in the Kângrâ District, have already been noticed in the *Archæological Reports* (Vol. V. p. 154, and XIV. p. 116.). Only two silver pieces are known, and the number of copper specimens is variously stated by the author in the same paragraph as five and seven. The silver pieces give the name of Râjâ Dhara Ghôsha in Pâli and Kharôshthî characters. One of these coins is in the Lahore Museum, and was found in company with Kuninda coins and hemidrachms of Apollodotus, who reigned about B. C. 100.

The coins of Amôghabhûti, king of Kuninda, have been frequently published, but only five specimens of the Siva type are known. The name Kuninda was first correctly read by Sir A. Cunningham many years ago. The late Mr. Thomas committed himself at one time to very rash speculations about the interpretation of the legend of these coins.

The local coins of the ancient city Kôsâmbi, near Allâhâbâd, appear to comprise the issues of at least four princes, namely, Bahasata Mitra, Aśva Ghôsha, Jêtha Mitra, and Dhana Dêva. The connection of the first named ruler with Kôsâmbi is proved by the occurrence of an inscription of his in the neighbourhood. The coin legends do not include the name of the town, and I presume that the proof of the connection between Kôsâmbi and the other three rulers named rests chiefly on unpublished evidence as to the find spots of their coins. Coins of Dhana Dêva are recorded to have been found at Ayôdhya (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. I. p. 319). His coins are stated to be very numerous.

Plate vi. is devoted to the illustration of coins ascribed to the Yaudhêya tribe, now represented by the Jôhiyas along the Satluj River and in the Salt Range. The coins numbered 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13, of the Plate include the name Yaudhêya in their legends. I cannot perceive any reason for ascribing the single-die coin No. 1 with common Buddhist symbols to the Yaudhêyas, and the same remark applies to the broken coin No. 5, but the ascription of the remaining pieces (with the doubtful exception of No. 14), is satisfactorily established. The small copper coins, in two sizes, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, have on the obverse a humped bull to right, approaching a Bôdhi tree with railing, with the legend *Yaudhêyanâ* (or-*nî*), and on the reverse an elephant walking to right, with Buddhist symbols. This class of small copper coins is believed to date from about the first century B. C. I would name it the **Bull and Elephant Type**. Figures 6, 7, and 8 represent large copper coins, with a mean weight of 172 grains, which form a totally distinct class, copied from the Indo-Scythian money, and apparently later in date than A. D. 300. The obverse shows an armed figure standing to front, with spear in right hand, and left hand on hip; cock in field to right. Legend in old Nâgarî characters: *Yaudhêya gaṇasya jaya*. In one instance the word *dvi*, and, in another, the word *tri* follows *jaya*. The reverse is occupied by a standing male figure and sundry symbols.

This type may be called the **Javelin Type**, which name has been generally accepted for the corresponding class of Gupta coins. The legend shows that these coins are those of the Yaudhêya tribe or clan.

Figure 9 represents a silver coin, apparently the only one known in that metal, which belongs to a third completely distinct type. The author remarks that this piece and certain related copper coins (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13) "are, perhaps, of a

slightly later date." They seem to me to be considerably later in date, and not earlier than A. D. 500.

They are characterized by the rude six-headed male figure on the obverse, which is probably intended for Kārttikēya, son of Śiva, and god of war, and may be conveniently named the **Kārttikēya Type**. The legend on the silver piece is *Bhāgavatō Svāmīna Brāhmaṇa Yaudhēya*, and that on some of the copper coins is *Bhāgavata Svāmīna Brāhmaṇa Dēvaśya*.

The obverse device of Figure 14 is simply a snake, with the legend *Bhānu Varma*, and the ascription of this piece to the Yaudhēyas does not appear to be certain.

The Yaudhēya coins deserve further investigation and illustration.

If space permitted, Sir A. Cunningham's description of the **Coins of Pañchāla** (Northern Rohilkhand), **Mathurā**, and **Ayōdhyā** should receive a long discussion; but it is impossible to treat the subject adequately in a review. The coins of the **Mitra dynasty**, characterized by the incuse square obverse, generally ascribed to the Śuṅga kings, are regarded by the author as the issues of a local dynasty, inasmuch "as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla, which would not be the case, did they belong to the paramount dynasty of Śuṅgas." The princes with the cognomen of Mitra who issued these coins, are Dhruva Mitra, Sūrya Mitra, Phalguni Mitra, Bhānu Mitra, Bhūmi Mitra, Agni Mitra, Jaya Mitra, Indra Mitra, and Vishṇu Mitra:—a very remarkable series of names. The names of Bhadra Ghōsha and Viśva Pāla also occur.

The well-known **Horse and Bull coins of Satya Mitra, Sūrya Mitra, and Vijaya Mitra**, as well as the closely related coins of Sañgha (Mitra) are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Ayōdhyā issues. But I am by no means certain that the same Sūrya Mitra did not issue both the Incuse Square and the Horse and Bull coins. It is certainly a mistake to say that the Incuse Square coins are "very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla." I have myself three coins of Indra Mitra found in Oudh, and Mr. J. Hooper, B.C.S., has many other coins of the same class, obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of Ayōdhyā. Coins of this class are also found in Basti and the other districts adjoining Oudh, where the Horse and Bull coins likewise occur. Certain princes, with the cognomen Mitra, namely **Gō Mitra** and **Brahma Mitra** issued coins which are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Mathurā issues. These various Mitra coins require, and

would, I think, repay detailed study and investigation.

The **Mathurā coins of the Satraps Hagā-māsha and Hagāna** (page 87) are now, I believe, published for the first time.

The chapters dealing with the coins of **Ujain** and **Ēraṇ** are very interesting, but the greater part of their contents has already been published in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, and I must refrain from discussing them. The coin from Ēraṇ figured as No. 18 in Plate xi. is, however, too remarkable to be passed over. It "is a thick rude piece of copper, weighing 171 grains. It bears the name of Dhama Pālasini, written reversedly [scilicet, from right to left] in large **Asōka** characters of early date." This legend may be older than the inscriptions of Asōka. Sir A. Cunningham includes in his work a brief account of the **Andhra coins** on the ground that the Andhra kings claim in their inscriptions to have extended their sway far to the north of the Nerbaddi River, and may thus be reckoned among the dynasties of Northern India, with which the book is concerned. Sir A. Cunningham adopts Dr. Bühler's results (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 272), as regards the succession and chronology of the Andhra monarchs.

The coins, which are generally made of lead, fall into two main classes, the **Western**, from the neighbourhood of Kōlhāpur, and the **Southern**, from the neighbourhood of Amarāvati on the Kṛishṇā (Kistna) River. The Western coins are mostly characterized by the obverse device of a bow, with arrow fixed. The Southern coins have for leading obverse device a horse, elephant, *stūpa* (*chaitya*), lion, or two-masted ship; and for reverse device the cross and balls, characteristic of the coinage of Ujain. Sir A. Cunningham observes that "one specimen has an elephant;" but I possess nine small leaden coins from the Kṛishṇā District, given me by Dr. Hultzsch, all of which seem to bear the elephant obverse device. They are very rude coins.

Three of the kings also coined in copper, using the Bow and Arrow device, and one silver coin struck by Yajña Śātakarṇi, resembling the Satrap coinage of Surāshṭra, was found in the *stūpa* of Sōpāra.

The concluding section of the book is devoted to a brief discussion of the coinage of **Nēpāl**. Sir A. Cunningham accepts "with perfect confidence" the determination of the chronology by Dr. Bühler, whose results are very different from those at which Dr. Fleet arrived. Dr. Fleet thought that the Sūryavaṃśi Lichchhavi dynasty

ruled simultaneously with the Thākuri dynasty, whereas Dr. Bühler, interpreting differently the dates of certain inscriptions, holds that the Lichchhavi dynasty ended after A. D. 634, and was succeeded about A. D. 640 by the Thākuri dynasty, founded by Thākur Amśuvarman.

The coins, which are all copper, ranging in weight from 95 to 250 grains, bear the names of Mānāka, Guṇāka, Vaiśravaṇa, Amśuvarman, Jishnugupta, and Paśupati. Three of these coins had long ago been published by Prinsep and Sir A. Cunningham, and several of the types were published by Dr. Hoernle and myself for the first time in 1887 (*Proc. A. S. Bengal*), amended readings being given in the same periodical for the following year. The coins then described were from a find presented to me by Dr. Gimlette, and are now divided between the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Hoernle, and myself. Colonel Warren's coins, some of which are figured and described by Sir A. Cunningham, have been recently acquired by the British Museum. The approximate date, A. D. 640, of Amśuvarman's coins is certain, but the dates and order of the other coins are far from being settled. In fact the Nêpāl coinage requires to be worked out in a separate monograph before it can be satisfactorily treated in brief. In describing the coins of Mānāka and Guṇāka, Sir A. Cunningham transposes the terms obverse and reverse. There can be no doubt that the side occupied by the seated goddess is, as in the Gupta coinage, properly denominated the reverse.

No one can be more grateful than I am to Sir A. Cunningham for giving to numismatic students the first intelligible guide-book to the numerous groups of miscellaneous early Indian coins, or can appreciate better the knowledge and learning displayed in the small book under review. But it is a reviewer's business to criticize, and I may be pardoned for pointing out some defects. M. Ed. Drouin, when criticizing my work on the Gupta coinage, complained with justice that the autotype figures in the plates are often unsatisfactory. The same criticism applies with much greater force to the plates in this work, the coins figured being frequently much worn copper pieces, of which the photographs are necessarily very indistinct. In many instances the more expensive and troublesome process of engraving from drawings would have given far better results.

This review has run to such a length that it is impossible to discuss the introductory sections of the book, but a few dubious statements may be noted. Modern scholars do not generally accept the date "from 600 to 543 B. C." for the lifetime

of Buddha (page 3). On page 20 the statement is repeated in the form that "Buddha's death is placed in the middle of the sixth century B. C."

The observations on the derivation of the term *ṭāṇka* in pages 24-26 will hardly command general acceptance. The date 84 (page 37) for the Hashtnagar inscription appears to be incorrect. I think it may safely be asserted that the date is either 274 or 284, as read by Dr. Bühler, and originally by Sir A. Cunningham.

On page 49 the small gold coins of Southern India, known by the name of *hūn*, are said to average 52 grains, the weight being adjusted to that of the *kaṭāñju* seed, which is "over 50 grains." On page 51 the *hūns* are said to have been "intended for half *dīnārs* of the Roman standard"; and, on the same page, the *hūn* is declared to be "the original gold *karsha* of 57.6 grains, which has now dwindled down to 52 and 53 grains," and ten of the older *hūns* are said to give an average of 55 grains. These statements, which are not altogether consistent, appear to require revision. I do not see how the weight of the *hūn* can be derived from that of the *kaṭāñju* seed of "over 50 grains," a purely indigenous measure, and also be copied from the Roman *dīnār* standard.

The citation of the legend of the purchase of the Jêtavana garden to prove the antiquity of "square Indian coins" (page 53) suggests the criticism, first, that Sir A. Cunningham much antedates Buddha, secondly, that the representations in the sculptures prove nothing as to the facts in the time of Buddha, but only indicate what seemed to the sculptor a suitable way for representing a payment, and, thirdly, that early square gold coins are not known to exist. The legend illustrated by the sculpture refers to gold coins.

I am glad to see that Sir A. Cunningham has ceased to use the values 1.75 grain and 140 grains for the *rati* and *suvarṇa* respectively, and now uses the much more correct values 1.8 and 144. The values 1.825 and 146 which I have employed in my publications, are perhaps more strictly correct, but 1.8 and 144 are sufficiently accurate, and form a very convenient basis for a table of weights.

On page 53 the words "eight *ratīs*, or 140 grains," should be read "eighty *ratīs*, or 144 grains." On the same page it is stated that the Jêtavana story "will be found in the appendix," but there is no appendix.

V. A. SMITH.

Cheltenham,
22 June 1892.



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